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STUART













CALEDONIA ROMANA:  
—  
A  
DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
SCOTLAND;  
*by Robert Stuart*  
PRECEDED BY AN  
INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY  
AND THE  
STATE OF ITS INHABITANTS IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA;  
AND BY A SUMMARY OF THE  
HISTORICAL TRANSACTIONS  
CONNECTED WITH THE  
ROMAN OCCUPATION OF NORTH BRITAIN.

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*C. 22*  
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DECEMBER, 1844.





## PREFATORY NOTICE.

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As upwards of a century has elapsed since any general account of the Roman Antiquities of Scotland was presented to the public—an interval which has proved far from barren in the annals of discovery—it was suggested, by a few individuals interested in such pursuits, that, even in this so called utilitarian age, a work upon the subject might not be unfavourably received. In consequence of this opinion, proposals for such a publication were circulated, and as they had the good fortune to meet with a somewhat extensive approval, the following pages have been the result.

When originally thought of, it was intended to confine the volume to a mere description of the antiquities which had been brought to light in this part of the Island, since about the year 1730, when Mr. Horsley wrote; but on considering that his work, as well as every other of a similar nature, had become both rare and high in price; it was thought advisable to extend the plan, so as to include a record, not only of the more recent discoveries, but likewise of those which had been effected from the earliest times. With the view of adding, if possible, to the interest of what many may be inclined to regard as rather a dry subject, a Narrative of the

Historical Events connected with the Roman Occupation has been introduced, along with a brief Introductory Sketch of what is believed to have been the condition of the Caledonian people at the time they were called on to oppose the inroads of the Imperial Legions.

Had the author seen the slightest probability of its being undertaken by any other hand, he should certainly never have thought of engaging in such a task: as it is, he submits the result of his inquiries to the reader with considerable hesitation—doubtful if it has been in his power to do justice to the subject, or that the present volume will be found worthy of the patronage with which it has been honoured.

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## CHAPTER I.

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### AN INTRODUCTORY GLANCE AT THE ASPECT OF NORTH BRITAIN, AND STATE OF ITS INHABITANTS,

IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

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ACCORDING to ancient authors, the Northern part of Britain was in early times equally distinguished by the cheerless aspect of the country, and the barbarous condition of its inhabitants. If, indéed, the land of our Celtic ancestry has not been much misrepresented, we feel, like the learned Horsley, at a loss to conceive what could induce the Romans to waste a thought on its conquest, or to use the exertions they did, to possess a territory which was, by their description, so miserably poor. The accuracy of the old historians has, on this subject, however, been somewhat disputed, and considerable allowance ought, perhaps, to be made for the mistakes of men who, writing of a country they had never seen, and which few civilians had visited, were obliged to collect their information from such reports as were current among the military. And where was the Roman soldier to be found, who did not, in all likelihood, think his self-importance increased, by magnifying at home the savage character of its people, and the gloomy horrors of that region through which he had forced his way to the farthest extremity of the then known world? But, notwithstanding the uncertainty that envelops those earliest records of Britain, which come down to us in the language of its first invaders, still to them we are indebted for almost all that is known of the ancient condition of

the country; and the dawn of our history would, to us, be barely distinguishable, were it not for that beam of light which, in a figurative sense, radiated from amid the Seven Hills, on the obscurity of its origin.

Our remote ancestors no doubt possessed many institutions, both of Religion and of Government, which placed them far above the rank of mere barbarians; their traditionary annals as a nation were carefully preserved in the circle of the priesthood, with whom rested, perhaps, the story of those successive migrations of the Celtic Tribes, which led them by degrees to occupy the fairest part of primeval Europe. But it was fated that the veil, which so long concealed the Caledonians from the eye of the more polished races of antiquity, should only be torn aside in the overthrow of all which distinguished them as a separate people; their peculiar domestic habits, their principles of worship, and their system of internal economy, became exposed but in their fall, and their carefully preserved historic records were for ever lost in the conquest or dispersion of their various tribes.

If, as has been supposed, the ancient hierarchy of the island enjoyed the knowledge of a written alphabet, they certainly abstained with care from making any practical use of it,—judging from the fact, that nowhere, among the existing remains of the Druidic period, be it on their temples, altars, burial-places, amulets, or other antiques, do we find any vestige of a sculptured character, such as might have preserved, were it to the initiated alone, the recollection of any great event, or the name and attributes of some locally honoured deity. But allowing our northern Druids to have been equal in their attainments with those of Gaul,<sup>a</sup> we must accord them the credit of having rendered what knowledge they possessed as unimportant as possible, in so far, at least, as concerned the people among whom they lived. The same policy which is said to have forbidden them the use of letters in the affairs of religion, might also teach them to be satisfied with confiding to memory the preservation of their national annals; thence probably arose the office of the Bard, and that general passion for traditionary song which for so many ages gratified the martial spirit of the Gaelic race. But when the spell of Druidic seclusion was broken, and the whole framework of their ancient institutions tottered to its fall; when the sandy foundation of their priestly policy was exposed, and their once dread authority crumbled into dust amid

<sup>a</sup> According to Cæsar, they made use of the Greek character.—*De Bello Gall.* L. vi. c. 14.

the turmoil of continued conflict with the Romans; then the office of the Bard gradually lost its sacred character, and with him died away those oral traditions which he alone had studied to preserve. Everything indeed connected with the history of the North British Tribes, at the time of Agricola's invasion, is gone, excepting what may be gleaned from the reports of their assailants, or dimly traced among those rude monuments of their labour which time has failed to destroy—the Druid circle on some Highland heath, or, .

“That unhewn sphere of living adamant  
Which, poised by magic, rests its central weight  
On yonder pointed rock. . . . .”<sup>a</sup>

To form an idea of the general aspect of Scotland, as it was some eighteen hundred years ago, we must, in imagination, restore to its now varied surface the almost unbroken gloom of the primeval forest; her waving mantle of sombre hue, within which the *genius loci* may be supposed to have brooded over the seclusion and the poverty of “ancient Caledon.” In a bird's-eye view, if such a thought may be indulged, the greatest part of the country presented, in all probability, the appearance of one continuous wood;<sup>b</sup> a mass of cheerless verdure resting on hill and dale—the sameness of its dark extent broken only where some lake or green-clad morass met the view, or where the higher mountains lifted their summits above the line of vegetation. In some districts, considerable tracks of open moorland might, doubtless, be seen clad in the indigenous heather of the North;<sup>c</sup> while, in others, occasional spots of pasture-land would here and there appear;—but, on the whole, these must have formed a trifling contrast to the wide expanse of the prevailing forest.

Going back somewhat farther than is usual in search of “travelling impressions,” let us suppose a journey of observation to have been made through this country a few years before the invasion of Agricola; and having present, as it were, both the traveller and the time, let us behold in him some curious wanderer from the distant South, who, with the aid of his Brigant<sup>d</sup> canoe-man, has landed on the northern shore of the Solway, prepared, in the spirit

<sup>a</sup> Mason's “Caractacus.”

<sup>b</sup> Chalmers' Caled. I. 68 and 338.    <sup>c</sup> Dion Cass. in Xiphil. as qu. in Horsley's Brit. 58.

<sup>d</sup> The “Brigantes” inhabited the North of England.



of adventure, to penetrate the unexplored regions in his front, and to meet the rude native in his forest village. Standing near the mouth of the Nith, he would find himself on the borders of a swampy labyrinth, covered by a thick wood, extending inland over that now fertile country where lies the town of Dumfries.<sup>a</sup> To the left was situated a rough, hilly district, the modern Kirkcudbright and Wigton shires, abounding in streams and lakes; and, if we may judge from the character of its inhabitants, inaccessible and stern;<sup>b</sup> while on the right, stretching away towards the German Ocean, lay a continuation of this mountain country, thickly interspersed with groves of trees, and probably intersected here and there by ranges of morassy pasture land.<sup>c</sup> Had our tourist advanced through that region, directing his course to the eastward, he would in his progress have emerged upon the plains of Berwickshire, a less repulsive country than any he had yet passed; where the superabundant moisture lay upon a rich soil,<sup>d</sup> and where the lower basin of the Tweed, like a green oasis in the wild, could not fail to arrest his eye: but meantime we shall suppose him to have pushed on to the interior, and to have descended by the vale of Clyde into the territories of the *Damnii*, at once the most powerful, and perhaps also the least barbarous of the Northern Tribes.<sup>e</sup>

His course through Nithsdale, and among the dreary uplands of the Clyde, must have presented a tolerable accumulation of the various 'obstacles which fettered the powers of locomotion in those primitive times, and perhaps afforded our tourist a pretty fair specimen of what a traveller might expect to encounter throughout the land in general. Roads there were none, for it was by no means the policy of the natives to facilitate the approach of the stranger; the only semblance of a track which existed, resembled, perhaps, the windings of an Indian trail, and along this he might succeed in threading the mazes of the thicket, by the assistance of some bearded warrior, whose hospitality

<sup>a</sup> The still existing Lochar moss, once much more extensive than now, bears strong evidence of the ancient state of that district—within it have been discovered many remains of the old forest, &c.—*Sincl. Stat. Account of Scot.* I. 160.—*Pennant's Tour*, III. 88.

<sup>b</sup> Gough's *Camden*, III. 330; *Chalm. Caled.* I. 61; and see the following section on *Agricola's* campaigns.

<sup>c</sup> Chalmers, in allusion to the *Gadeni* I. 59.—Many large trees have been dug up in the mosses, from 4 to 6 feet beneath the surface.

<sup>d</sup> Gough's *Camden*, III. 302.

<sup>e</sup> *Brown's Highlands*, I. 2.

he perchance had shared. After struggling, however, for a time through matted jungle and forest, he would at length reach the irregular assemblage of triangular, reed-covered huts, called a British town, which was situated in the midst of a wood, not far from the present village of Carstairs.<sup>a</sup> He had now arrived within what may properly be called the Lowlands of Scotland,—generally understood to extend from the hilly district on the border to the great northern barrier of the Grampians; for, although crossed in several directions by various chains of minor elevation, such as the Lammermoor, the Ochil, and the Campsie hills, they comprise, in the abstract, a greater extent of plain and of arable land than any other district in the country. Here, over a wide range of territory, dwelt the important tribe before mentioned, to which the Romans gave the name of “the Damnii;”<sup>b</sup> and we may presume that the nature of their possessions was comparatively fertile; for if any of those native clans were more powerful than another, the superiority must probably have arisen either from the strong and inaccessible situation of their possessions, which gave them a double confidence in war, or from the more fertile quality of the lands they occupied, the numbers of their wandering herds, and the attendant spread of a population proud of its wealth and powerful to defend it. As, therefore, the country of the Damnii was not by nature strong, the importance of that tribe must undoubtedly be ascribed to this last-mentioned reason—a productive soil and a numerous people.

Descending by the banks of the Clyde, and passing over into what are now the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, the traveller would probably find himself in one of the most pleasant districts of North Britain—wild and sterile, perhaps, when compared with the plains of Kent and Sussex, or with the other regions of Southern England—but highly attractive, when viewed in common with the general aspect of the country around. Here, in all likelihood, the almost interminable forest gave way to extensive plains, covered with indigenous grasses, heath, or reeds, according to the nature of the soil, the presence of stagnant water, or other local circumstances. We may infer that it was not generally covered with wood, from the fact that the inhabitants made use of the term “woody” as an exception by which to designate particular places or streams, as “*Goddawg-ara*,” the woody Ayr.<sup>c</sup> Had the forest been general

<sup>a</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 61. Cæsar’s description of a British town, *De Bell. Gall.* L. II. c. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Richard of Cirencester’s Maps.—Camden’s Brit. and Chalmers’ Caled. *passim*.

<sup>c</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 61.—“Kyle,” which signifies the “King’s habitation,” is supposed to refer to the ancient pleasantness of Ayrshire. Gough’s Camden, III. 335.

around them, they would scarcely have thought of such an appellation. From the Clyde, eastward, as far as the Firth of Forth, and down to the green plains of Berwick, the country was no doubt much covered with wood, and its surface in general but little exposed to the light of day.<sup>a</sup> On its eastern side dwelt the Gadeni and Otadeni, two considerable tribes, whose possessions extended southward into Northumberland,<sup>b</sup> and who, perhaps, towards the north, occupied the best part of the country which lies upon the estuary of the Forth. Here the Romans early established their head-quarters, and here they appear to have had, in aftertimes, their principal establishments,—attracted, probably, in an equal degree, by the fertility of the soil and by the convenient proximity of more than one harbour for their fleets.<sup>c</sup>

For the boasted credit of Celtic hospitality, let us suppose the wandering stranger, who ventured within their frontiers, to have experienced at the hands of our early ancestors an honest welcome, and that his certain passport amongst the ancient Gael was the trust we shall suppose him to have reposed in their unpurchased faith. Fearless, therefore, of all danger, it may have been his fortune to wander at will from village to village, an object, no doubt, of much curiosity to the men in years, and of special wonder to “the young barbarians all at play,” but ever an unmolested visitor—free as the passing winds. Traversing the country, he might thus have leisure to observe, with a curious eye, the natural productions of its uninviting climate, the same, in many respects, as may be seen at the present day. The oak, the fir, and the graceful birch, would rise by his side, or hang above him from the rocky cliffs; the hazel and matted bramble would obstruct his way as he laboured through the thickets; and, when resting by some sheltered stream, he might, if so disposed, have gathered a variety of the same wild fruits as may yet be found in autumn within the silent coppices of our Highland glens.<sup>d</sup> Wherever, in an open district, any considerable grove appeared, there, in all likelihood, would he find the rude tent-like habitations of the people, clustered for shelter and safety within the margin of the wood.<sup>e</sup> Around these villages browsed

<sup>a</sup> The trunks of large trees are here found in the mosses in almost every quarter. Old and New Stat. accounts; Nimmo's Stirlingshire, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Richard's Maps.—Chalm. Caled. I. 58.

<sup>c</sup> At Camelon, Cramond, &c. the Romans had important stations. These are particularly mentioned in a subsequent part of the volume.

<sup>d</sup> Gough's Camden, III. 136 and 367.—Horsley Brit. p. 58.—Logan's Scot. Gael. c. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Caesar's account of the British towns.—*De Bello Gall.* Lib. v. c. 21.

their tame cattle, protected by the vicinity of the owners, whose places of abode were in general strongly fortified; while far away, in the deepest glades of the forest, reposed the wild herds of the island,—quick of ear to catch the most distant sound, and to start in flight, while the tread of the hunter was yet far off. One prominent feature of the scenery, peculiarly calculated to strike his attention, would be the symmetrical clusters of oak which were held sacred to the rites of religion. These were numerous throughout the country,<sup>a</sup> and, wherever found, must have proved objects of much curiosity to the stranger. The profound mystery which ever hung over them, the jealous care which guarded their precincts from his approach, the reverential awe with which the Briton regarded it as he pointed to the spot where stood the monuments of his faith, all would conspire to throw over the Druid's secluded temple an interest greater perhaps than ever extended to the marble fanes of Rome's time-honoured gods, the "blue-eyed Pallas and the Olympian Jove." Within these groves may also have been situated the houses of the priests,—probably the only ones in the land arranged with any pretensions to comfort, in our idea of the term; but, as their owners courted mystery and seclusion, the passing wayfarer could have no opportunity, we may suppose, of becoming either a guest of the priesthood or at all acquainted with the arcana of their domestic arrangements.

Beyond the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde lay the great forest of *Celyddon*, which gave, in the Celtic dialect, its name to the Western Highlands,<sup>b</sup> and which, when altered by the Romans to "Caledonia," became the designation of the whole country situated to the north of the wall of Antoninus.<sup>c</sup> From the district of Athol, in Perthshire, it spread over the mountainous interior as far as the county of Sutherland, descending on the west coast to the peninsula of Cantire, and thence stretching eastward to the banks of Lochlomond.<sup>d</sup> If the country through which he had already passed had been too bountifully supplied with its "leafy mantle-green," and somewhat difficult to penetrate, here the troubles or dangers of the traveller must have been greatly increased. The respected Camden, indeed, on the faith of more ancient authors, endows

<sup>a</sup> In many parts of Scotland, near the existing Druid circles, the remains of the ancient groves have been observed.—Chalm. Caled. III. 71.

<sup>b</sup> "Celyddon."—Note to Chalm. Caled. I. 65.

<sup>c</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 65.—Grant's Origin of the Gael, 271.

<sup>d</sup> Gough's Camden, III. 393.—Richards' Map, Roy's Milit. Antiq.

the Caledonian forest with so many terrors, that we may believe our tourist to have been brought to a stand upon its verge, as even a Roman nerve might have shrunk from the task of entering that gloomy stronghold of the "*horribiles et ultimosque Britannos*."<sup>a</sup> Impervious from the thick growth of trees and underwood, it was, we are told, infested with wolves, wild bulls, and boars; and, according to some accounts, the grizzly bear had even been known to revel within its dark recesses.<sup>b</sup> Bleak, craggy mountains, and dismal swamps of great extent,<sup>c</sup> may have afforded some variety to the landscape, although they added nothing to its attractions. Within those forbidding wilds, however, a considerable population seems to have existed in early times; and, from the many Druidical remains discovered in that part of the country, it appears evident that its inhabitants were not entirely savages, and not quite such unapproachable monsters as the poet Claudian<sup>d</sup> declares them to have been; for it is well known that, wherever the Druids had power, they introduced many customs which tended to humanise and otherwise improve the character of the people; and, however selfish may have been the hidden objects of their implied theocracy, their system of religious rule certainly did much to smooth down the salient angles of original barbarism.<sup>e</sup>

In a region, however, such as this, the population was, doubtless, small when compared with the extent of their gloomy possessions. Unlike the tribes of the Lowlands, the inhabitants of the forest did not probably apply themselves, in any great degree, to the rearing of cattle, but subsisted chiefly on the produce of the chase, or on the attractive, if not most creditable amusement, of plundering their wealthier neighbours.<sup>f</sup> Within their own inaccessible bounds roamed the wild white cattle,<sup>g</sup> a race not yet extinct, and of which a considerable number now find shelter in the noble woods at Hamilton Palace. The red deer and boar were also plentiful in this district, with the wolf, the hare, and many smaller animals which nature threw in his way to supply the Caledonian of old with food and raiment. Brought up from

<sup>a</sup> Catullus Carm. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Gough's Camden, III. 367, &c. The Urus was a native of Scotland; the horns of that animal are often found: one was dug up, near Lanark, 29 inches long.—Gough's Camd. III. 343.

<sup>c</sup> Dion in Xiphil.—Exped. of Severus, *passim*.

<sup>d</sup> "*Caledonio velata Britannia monstro*," &c.

<sup>e</sup> Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, *passim*.—Toland's Hist. of the Druids, *do*.

<sup>f</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 69. <sup>g</sup> Gough's Camden, III. 367, and Xiphil. Lib. 76.

childhood as a hunter, he became, in a high degree, nimble, expert, and daring—in any situation an enemy of no mean repute—but on his native hills, it may be said, invincible; and, such as it was, his native forest—the stronghold of many tribes—required no fabled terrors to render it the best defence possessed by our primitive ancestors against the oft-recurring encroachments of foreign ambition. Within its recesses were foiled the exertions of the best troops the world could then produce. On one occasion only was it traversed by the Roman legions. At their approach, its spreading oaks were levelled, its morasses drained, its mountain torrents made passable, and the heart of the wilderness was gained;<sup>a</sup> but only to be again abandoned with immense loss—the frequent attacks of the natives, and the extreme hardships to which the soldiery were exposed, in struggling through so difficult a country, having annihilated the greatest part of the invading army.<sup>b</sup>

Leaving on his left this region—to him another dread retreat of Cimmerian gloom—the lone adventurer, whose course we follow, may be supposed to have proceeded by Strathearn to the Tay, and thence along the eastern sea-coast towards the extremity of the island. Throughout the first part of his progress, the way was probably beset, as usual, with many difficulties,—the rich alluvial valley drained by the Earn being then, in all likelihood, widely covered with woods and thickets;<sup>c</sup> but whenever he approached the sea, beyond what are now the boundaries of Perthshire, the scene would materially change, and the hitherto abundant vegetation give place to a long extent of open moorland country;<sup>d</sup> for such appears to have been the general aspect of that part of Scotland, from the mouth of the Tay as far as the Moray Firth—an extensive track, naturally bleak and sterile, from its exposure to the keen blasts which swept the German Ocean. Wandering by those shores, where beat the angry waves, which, he might imagine, were rolling on to bury themselves amid the sluggish waters of “Thule,”<sup>e</sup> the solitary traveller would at length find himself on the coast of Nairn or Banff, where we shall suppose

<sup>a</sup> Herodian, Lib. III. c. 46.

<sup>b</sup> Dion Cass. in Xiphil. Lib. LXXVI.

<sup>c</sup> This is evident from the appearance of the mosses in various quarters.

<sup>d</sup> The natives applied the term “Peithw,” an open country, to the north-eastern districts of Scotland; the inhabitants were called “Peithi;” hence, according to some authorities, the Latinised “Picti.” Chalm. Caled. I. 65.

<sup>e</sup> “The sea in those parts is said to be a mass of stagnated water, hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar,” &c.—Tacit. Agric. c. 10.; *Murphy's Trans.*

him to have brought his journeyings to a close. Little more was open to his curiosity in this remote corner of the world. The northern part of the island, Sutherland and Caithness, was, in ancient times, nothing but an immense morass, here and there covered by trees.<sup>a</sup> It was, besides, much infested by wolves;<sup>b</sup> and, take it all in all, it must have been a region of the most forbidding character, from which the wearied stranger might gladly turn away. Let us, therefore, imagine our tourist—cheered by the hospitality of the *Vacomagi*,<sup>c</sup> and, with thoughts again turned to the *Dii penates* of his Italian home—to have retraced his steps towards the South, crossing the ancient kingdom of Fife, the well-guarded country of the *Horestii*,<sup>d</sup> and to have thence wended his homeward way through the richer districts of Haddington and Berwick.

Since the distant period referred to, many great changes have occurred on the sea-coasts of this country, and in the courses of some of its principal rivers. In the Solway, for instance, the tide no longer flows nearly so far inland as it did some two thousand years ago. The same thing may be said of the Forth, and especially of its tributary the Carron. In both of these cases this is sufficiently proved by the discovery of rings, to which vessels had been moored, in ancient times, anchors, and other nautical implements, at a considerable distance within the present line of coast.<sup>e</sup> The sea has also deserted the shores of Clyde throughout their whole extent below Dunglass; but no evidence remains to prove the height of its level in Roman times. The Tay has materially altered its lower course, and this undoubtedly since the country became inhabited. From Inchyra, about five miles below Perth, it appears to have at one time flowed through the lower districts of the Carse of Gowrie, at some distance more to the north than it now does.<sup>f</sup> Both chan-

<sup>a</sup> Gough's Camden, III. 442 and 439. The woods in Caithness and Sutherland appear to have been destroyed by fire.—See Agric. Reports of these counties.

<sup>b</sup> Gough's Camden, III. 445.

<sup>c</sup> The *Vacomagi* were spread over the counties of Banff, Nairn, Moray, and the southern half of Inverness.

<sup>d</sup> See Account of Agricola's campaigns in the following chapter.—Fife, a much-wooded district.—Sir R. Sibbald's Hist. of Fife, p. 7.

<sup>e</sup> At Netherby, on the Esk,—Gordon's Itin. p. 16; and in the vicinity of ancient Camelon, near Falkirk, for which see a subsequent part of this volume.

<sup>f</sup> The names of many farms, &c. situated on the more elevated grounds along this valley serve to prove those facts,—such as Inch-aheriff, Inch-michael, Meg-inch, Inch-ture, &c. But

nels, however, may have been covered by the sea when the tide rose; and perhaps the river formerly divided itself into two branches at the place above mentioned. On the Beauley inlet, near Inverness, the land has, on the contrary, become greatly submerged since the times of our earliest ancestors, and there the restless surge now breaks over the monumental cairns of a people who once buried their dead where the sea-weed floats in the passing current.<sup>a</sup> The evidences of similar change are indeed numerous in various other localities; but the limit to which this introductory sketch must be confined prevents our pursuing the subject at greater length. It is an acknowledged axiom that nature is nowhere at rest. On Hutton's theory, the bed of the ocean is undergoing a continued change; our rocky mountains are crumbling to decay, and the whole crust of the globe is involved in a movement in which "there is no symptom of a beginning and no prospect of an end." Compared, however, with the progress of those changes, the days of man's life are as an atom in the scale. We behold, in many quarters, that there have been great alterations on the face of the country; but, except when some accidental circumstance—such as the discovery of an anchor, rings for the mooring of ships, and such like, at a distance from the present line of coast—tells us that man has there preceded the change, we can form no idea of the ages required by nature to effect those operations of which the results are so manifest to the eye.<sup>b</sup>

At the time of the Roman invasion, the population of North Britain did not, in all probability, exceed an eighth part of its present amount. According to Tacitus, the entire force brought into the field by the Northern tribes, when old and young were called to arms, did not exceed thirty thousand men; and in this array were, no doubt, included many allies from the Southern districts, who had fled from their own territories on the advance of the Roman troops. Supposing the above estimate of the Caledonian army to be tolerably correct, we may form some opinion from it of the probable numbers who then inhabited this part of the island,—making, of course, all due allowance for the absence, in the day of battle, of such as had made submission to Agri-

for additional evidence on this subject, see Sinclair's *Stat. Account of Longforgran parish*, vol. xix. p. 554.

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camden*, III. 431.

<sup>b</sup> Sir R. Sibbald's *Hist. Inquiries*, p. 32; also his *Hist. of Stirlingshire*, p. 30. He supposes the Carse of Stirling to have been covered by the sea in Agricola's time.



cola, or who were otherwise prevented from being present in the hour of conflict. It may, indeed, be concluded, from the general condition of the country, that its population must have been far from numerous. The soil, undisturbed for the purposes of cultivation,<sup>a</sup> was valuable only where it afforded pasturage for cattle, and, as ministering indirectly to their wants, was capable of supporting but a limited number of the human race: in this respect differing widely from a grain-producing region, or even from the pasture lands of Upper Asia, the original birth-place of the Celtic tribes, amongst whose boundless steppes the rapid increase of their flocks gave a corresponding impetus to the spread of mankind. The nature of the Caledonian climate was likewise adverse to the increase of population; the general proximity of the mountains, whose influence of attraction was ever bearing on the watery clouds, the abundance of wood, which retained the moisture as it fell, the never-far distant morass, exhaling its chill and unwholesome vapours, and on which the sun but rarely shone—in short, the excessive dampness of the climate must have conspired, in no small degree, to confine the current of human existence within comparatively narrow bounds.<sup>b</sup>

We have attempted to present a feeble outline of the ancient aspect of Scotland; and such as it was in those remote times, it probably remained, with but little change, for a long succession of ages. The Romans, the Irish, the Saxons, and the Northmen, one after another, involved it in bloodshed, and swept away whatever improvements had taken root amongst its aboriginal people. According, indeed, to the opinions of an author whose views are well worthy of attention, the condition of this country became greatly deteriorated subsequently to its occupation by the Romans;<sup>c</sup> and this consequence of incessant warfare continued most probably to retard the advance of all civilisation, until something like an established government was formed from the chaos. At best, however, the spirit of improvement was slow to take effect. Under its early kings the country, no doubt, began to alter for the better: the forests were, in a great measure, cleared away, and the Saxon pursuits of agriculture were introduced; but it is a well-known fact, that no very wide amelioration of the an-

<sup>a</sup> "Neque enim arva nobis," &c. Tacit. Agric. c. 31. In some parts of England the cultivation of corn was common.—*Idem*, c. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Herodian's account of Severus's Exped. Lib. III. *passim*.—Tacit. Agric. c. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Vincent Higgins, in his work on the Celtic Druids.

cient poverty of Scotland was achieved until the recent period of the seventeenth century; when at length her sons were born

"A better time and happier years to grace."

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WITHOUT entering into any of those subjects of discussion which have so much divided the learned world in its opinions regarding the early migrations of mankind, it may be sufficient to observe, that, according to the best received authorities, the first inhabitants of Britain were a branch of a great Nomadic race, who, in an age far beyond the ken of any historic records, wandered from Eastern Asia into Europe, peopling on their way the fertile lands of Greece and Italy, and, in course of time, spreading to the westward, whence, pushed forward by succeeding swarms, their advanced parties passed over into this Island. It appears tolerably certain that these Asiatic hordes were the first settlers of Europe, the aborigines of those nations which became in after times so eminently distinguished in arts and arms. They were the ancestors of the Pelasgic Greeks, of the Etruscans, the Sabines, and other Italian states, and consequently the primogenitors likewise of the cultivated Hellenes, and in a material degree of the Romans themselves.<sup>a</sup> At the first dawn of European history we find the descendants of this race in occupation of a considerable part of the continent, under the general name of "Celtæ,"<sup>b</sup> retaining intact amongst them the peculiar customs of their fathers, which had in other quarters been nearly swept away by the progress of refinement and the admixture of foreign habits. At a later period, the Celtæ, from local circumstances, became known under various names: the Gauls, the Cimbri, and the Belgæ were, it is believed, only so many different tribes of the same people;<sup>c</sup> and from the first of these branches descended, we are told, the skin-clad warriors whom the Romans encountered to the north of the Solway.<sup>d</sup>

In every age, and wherever situated, the pure offspring of this Celtic race have been marked by many peculiarities of character, both mental

<sup>a</sup> See Higgins on the Celtic Druids, and Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*.

<sup>b</sup> According to Herodot. and Ptol.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Wm. Betham, in his *History of the Gael and Cimbri*, supposes the *Celtæ* to have been colonists from Phenicia; and contends that both the *Belgæ* and *Cimbri* were of Teutonic descent.

<sup>d</sup> Chalm. *Caled. I.* 57, and Browne's *Hist. of Highland Clans*. Diss. p. 5, &c.

and physical, which broadly distinguished them among the families of mankind. From the East, their successive colonies brought with them to the shores of the Atlantic, the manners, the language, the sciences, and the singularly pure religion of a high, and by no means unenlightened antiquity. In course of time, however, the descendants of these shepherd tribes declined in the scale of civilisation, and the ancient simplicity of their faith was corrupted at the instance of their priesthood;<sup>a</sup> but, with these exceptions, the natives of Western Europe undoubtedly bore for many ages a strong resemblance, in every national characteristic, to those wandering hordes who first crossed the Hellespont, or who found their way into Thrace from the banks of the Volga.<sup>b</sup> Amongst the various peculiarities which distinguished the Celtæ as a people, the most important in its results was their love of clannish or family independence—a kindred system with the primitive form of government which existed in the time of the Jewish patriarchs. From this source sprang the weakness, and, in some measure, the contentious spirit of the Celtic race. Nowhere, in the page of ancient history, do we find them mentioned as ever forming a powerful and united nation. On the contrary, they generally appear before us as an assemblage of petty states, occasionally joining issue when some great plundering expedition was at hand; but only doing so to separate again whenever their object was attained or defeated; as ready in the sequel to draw the sword upon their former allies, as they had been to wield it by their side against the common foe. Whether this principle of disunion sprang from a natural dislike to all systematic control, from family pride, vanity of disposition, or any similar causes, we shall not pretend to inquire;<sup>c</sup> it may, however, be safely averred that its influence was universal amongst them. Incapable of changing the bent of his disposition, or spurning the hard dealt lessons of experience, the fiery Celt gloried in the free and reckless spirit of his Asiatic ancestors, and although a frequent witness of the advantages which his enemies derived from the steady combination of purpose that attended their

<sup>a</sup> Smith's *Gaelic Antiquities*, *passim*.—Higgins' *Celtic Druids*, p. 70.

<sup>b</sup> Either course is probable; but the subject has been contested; *v.* Chalmers, Browne, Higgins, Thierry, and Court de Gebelin, "*Le Monde primitif*."

<sup>c</sup> They had, says Amédée Thierry, to give his own words, "*une repugnance marquée aux idées de discipline et d'ordre si puissantes chez les races Germaniques, beaucoup d'ostentation, enfin une désunion perpétuelle, fruit de l'excessive vanité*."—*Hist. de Gaulois*, I. 5.

designs, he did not profit by their example; but his race, it may be truly said, continued, even in ruin, a divided people.<sup>a</sup>

Daring, impetuous, and brave as they were, the Celtæ, from this cause, never achieved a conquest which they could retain. For a long time they were the terror of civilised Europe, and more than once even the warlike Romans had occasion to respect their valour. The defeat of the Fabii by the Gauls, under Brennus,<sup>b</sup>—their overthrow at a later period of the Macedonian armies,<sup>c</sup>—the sack of Rome, and the devastation of Greece—attest the energy, the courage, and, let us add, the ferocity with which their warfare was conducted; but their expeditions on all occasions resembled more the hasty inroads of banded robbers, than the resolute marches of a people who were resolved to keep what they conquered; and the only apparent result that ever attended their greatest triumphs was a return to their native forests laden with plunder. Their bonds of casual union were seemingly too weak to sustain the pressure of any continued effort for a common good. It can therefore be little matter of surprise that this brave but disunited race should be forced to give way before the steady advance of the Teutonic nations; and that their decreasing numbers should be eventually driven for shelter to the poorest and most inaccessible districts of the countries they had once entirely possessed.

All certain knowledge of the time when the advanced colonies of the Gauls made their appearance in Britain, is lost in the darkness of those “gathered ages” which preceded the period of the Roman invasion. Conjecture has not, however, been idle on the subject; and much learning, ingenuity, and research have been displayed in the attempt to fathom those hidden depths, of which, it may be said, the earliest rays of history only touch the surface. The profound and elegant Baillie, well known as president of the French National Assembly, was, we believe, the first who employed the light of astronomical science in order to fix the epochs of the most remote antiquity on something like a certain basis; and who endeavoured to determine the era in which flourished the earliest nations of the East, by comparing what is known of their discoveries in astronomy, with the time required for those progressive changes which have since altered the positions of the heavenly

<sup>a</sup> Chalm. Caled. B. I. Witness the internal conflicts of the Gauls and Britons, when Cæsar was upon them, and the readiness with which some of the tribes sided against their neighbours; and look to Ireland, or to the mountains of Scotland, at a later period.

<sup>b</sup> Anno 390 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> Under Ptolemy Ceraunus, B.C. 278.

bodies in relation to our globe.<sup>a</sup> Acting on his example, Mr. Higgins, in his valuable work on the Celtic Druids, has attempted to show that this Island must have been inhabited at least 1500 years before the era of Christianity. His hypothesis is founded upon a variety of calculations; the most striking, perhaps, of these refer to the religious festivals of the Druids; the dates of which had been affected, he believes, by that slow movement of the seasons through the signs of the Zodiac, caused by the precession of the equinoxes; or, in other words, by the periodical revolution of the pole of the equator round the pole of the ecliptic. The subject is one of curious interest; but, as it lies rather beyond our province, we can do no more than point the way to the reader who may desire to pursue an inquiry into such speculations.<sup>b</sup> Of the final result of his inquiries, all that can be said is this—that it has been arrived at with much ingenuity, that its connection with the truth is by no means improbable, and that, at all events, it remains uncontroverted; for nothing has yet been advanced to disprove the opinion that Britain was a peopled country more than three thousand years ago. On this supposition we shall, in idea, have the Gaulish Druids raising their ponderous altars and standing stones amid our northern forests, while the priests of Isis were consecrating on the banks of the Nile the giant monuments of ancient Thebes,<sup>c</sup> and while the great leader of the Jews was setting up the pillars of his twelve Tribes in the wilderness of Sinai.<sup>d</sup>

When the Romans entered Scotland, the country was occupied by no less than twenty-one independent tribes, all of them bearing a strong national resemblance to those painted opponents whom Cæsar encountered on the coast of Kent.<sup>e</sup> But, although belonging to the same great family, indulging the like propensities, and living under similar systems of religion and government, the natives of Caledonia were undoubtedly much less advanced on the road to civilisation than were the Cantii, the Trinobantes, and other sections of the race who were settled in the more genial climate of south Britain. This difference is readily accounted for by the wild and unproductive nature of their country, which compelled them to follow in general the pursuits of hunting and robbing;<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Histoire de l'Astronomie*, Paris, 1775—1787.

<sup>b</sup> See Higgins, pp. 149. 150, &c.

<sup>c</sup> The Memnonium, &c. are supposed to have been built by Osymandyas, about 1500 years B.C.

<sup>d</sup> Exodus xxiv. 4. The passage of the Israelites took place, according to Usher, B.C. 1495.

<sup>e</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 67.

<sup>f</sup> Browne's Highlands, I. 7.

and by their distant position amid the Northern seas, which prevented any great amount of civilising intercourse with those pioneers of knowledge, the trading nations of antiquity. The North Briton retained indeed all the prevailing customs of his ancestors; but in proportion to his distance from the parent hold, so had his manners become more wild—his knowledge of the common arts of life less skilful: for as the Southern Gauls were superior in many acquirements to their countrymen on the British Channel,<sup>a</sup> and as the latter in a similar manner excelled the interior colonists of England, so did these last precede the Caledonians in such rude branches of knowledge as were then known in the west of Europe. But it must be observed that reference is here made to the mass of the people alone; the exclusive attainments of the Druids shall be afterwards noticed.

The conflicting statements of ancient authors make it, however, no easy matter to form a just estimate of the actual condition of our Northern Tribes, either with reference to the time of Agricola's arrival, or to any subsequent period of the Roman occupation. Xiphiline, in his epitome of the lost books of Dion Cassius,<sup>b</sup> would lead us to believe that, even in the reign of Severus, at the beginning of the third century, the native inhabitants of this country were sunk in the deepest barbarism. He describes them as then forming a sort of gregarious republic, living naked in tents, enjoying all things in common, rearing their children as general property, feeding on roots and leaves, and chiefly employing themselves in plundering their neighbours; as scouring, in short, their swampy retreats in the lowest state of savage existence.

“ Quos, Venerem incertam rapientes, more ferarum,  
Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus.”<sup>c</sup>

Herodian has written much to a similar effect;<sup>d</sup> yet, in almost the same pages which thus chronicle the degraded condition of the Caledonians, we are told that those unreclaimed barbarians fought in chariots, making use of swords, bucklers, poniards, and lances; the last most skilfully contrived, and mounted with sounding globes of brass, which were employed to frighten the horses of their enemies. It is difficult to believe, although such is the fact, that

<sup>a</sup> To the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles) has been ascribed the early improvement of Southern France.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. LXXVI.

<sup>c</sup> Horat. Lib. I. Sat. III. 109, 110.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. III.

both statements refer to the same people; for had the ancient inhabitants of this country possessed the means and ingenuity necessary to construct a chariot; if they were acquainted with the means of procuring, and the art of working in metals; able to fabricate a sword, or to form that, by no means simple, piece of mechanism, a wheel—it may surely be conjectured, with every appearance of probability, that their attainments could only be the fruit of a general advance in the scale of human improvement, and that, in their ordinary habits, the early ancestors of the Scottish Gael were not quite such a purely animal race as the above-mentioned authors would have had them to appear.

This opinion is considerably strengthened by looking at the accounts which Tacitus gives of the Caledonian Tribes. Of all the historians who grace the annals of Roman literature, he was, perhaps, the one to whom the purest source of information was open, in whatever regarded the ancient condition of this country. And, unless we are to believe that a very great falling off occurred in the state of its people, during the interval of a hundred years which elapsed between the reign of Domitian and that of Severus, we cannot but conclude that the authority of later authors is to be received with very guarded belief. When Agricola, equally distinguished by his talents and integrity, in the provinces of Asia, Gaul, and Britain, was forced into retirement by the jealous enmity of Domitian; the hours of his seclusion may, no doubt, have been often enlivened by discoursing of his past campaigns with the future historian of his actions, and in imparting to him the fruits of those observations which he had made, during a lengthened service, in various parts of the globe. There can, apparently, be little reason to doubt that Tacitus acquired his principal knowledge of British affairs from the lips of Agricola; and although he is supposed to have, in one or two instances, rather embellished his narrative,\* it may nevertheless be fairly believed, that, as he drew from a source little likely to be sullied either by prejudice or vulgar error, the leading features of his statements are in the main correct. In all his allusions to the Northern Britons may be discovered the certain evidence that they were something else than a mere horde of barbarians. From their firm and persevering resistance to the Roman troops, the policy of their warlike arrangements, their adoption of military ranks, and the ensigns of military

\* *Es. Gratia*—in the oration of Galgacus.

distinction; and from the method with which, when danger was threatened, all could unite for the sacred purpose of national defence;<sup>a</sup> it is impossible not to perceive, that they had by no means degenerated so far as some have believed from the condition of the Celtic cantons on the continent of Europe. If to these particulars be added their appearance on the field, supplied with broad-sword and target, identically similar to those borne by the Highlanders at Killiecrankie or Falkirk;<sup>b</sup> provided also with the spear, the bow, and the lance, and covering their line of battle with a cloud of chariots “armed to destroy;”<sup>c</sup> we must believe the Caledonians to have been in truth not ill prepared to meet even the Roman legions in their struggle for independence.

Let us, however, attempt to gain some nearer acquaintance with the ancient lord of our vanished forests, the early tracker of those gloomy wastes which still lie spread among the mountains of the North. Lonely they may ever have been—deserted are they now—those Highland moors, where the sheep of the Saxon have not only replaced the wild boar and the wolf, but have likewise driven before them—no miracle in the case—the houseless Gael and his beggared offspring.

“Vale of Cona, how art thou changed!  
And thou, hill of Albyn, how quiet is thy heath!  
Thou coverest thy head with the dark veil of mist,  
And slumberest in the noon of day.”

In personal stature the natives of Britain appear to have considerably excelled the Romans, and men of more than usual height seem to have been not uncommon amongst them. Many of these were conveyed to Italy,<sup>d</sup> to form a spectacle for the citizens of the capital, and to confirm, no doubt, in the wondering eyes of the mob, those accounts which reached them of the giant savages with whom the legions were at war. Diodorus Siculus particularly alludes to the large bodies, the yellow hair, and fair complexion of the Southern Tribes<sup>e</sup>—Tacitus to the ruddy locks and lusty limbs of Agricola’s opponents.<sup>f</sup> Hair of a reddish colour was held in general estima-

<sup>a</sup> Tacit. Agric. c. 29.

<sup>b</sup> Logan’s Scottish Gael; and see Home’s Hist. of the Rebellion in 1745–6.

<sup>c</sup> Tacit. Agric. c. 35 and 36.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo Geog. Lib. IV. p. 200.

<sup>e</sup> Strabo Geog. Lib. V. p. 212, Amm. Mar. xv. 10 and 12.

<sup>f</sup> Vit. Agric. c. 11.



tion amongst the Gauls, and it would seem that their bearded warriors paid as much attention to its care and arrangement, as the beauty of our times may be supposed to devote to

“The braided tresses love lies hid among.”

The ancient bards addressed the sun as the “golden haired;”<sup>a</sup> and when their theme descended to earth, they often transferred the flattering symbol to the godlike heroes of their songs, the young, and the fearless, whose footsteps were “first in the battle.” In the traditionary Gaelic poems of a later age, the allusions to this topic are numerous; witness the lays of Ullin, Ossian, and others.

“Dost thou not know me, red-haired chief of Cuthal?

Thy feet were swift on the heath, in the battle of  
car-born Lathmon,” &c. &c. <sup>b</sup>

In all this there was something of real philosophy, amongst our respected primogenitors; they did not estimate the jewel by its rarity in the land, but wisely centred their conceptions of the beautiful on a near and a broad foundation. Satisfied, however, as he may generally have been, with the arrangements of nature, there were one or two points on which the ancient Briton evidently thought her handiwork might be improved. With the fair complexion of his skin, for instance, he does not seem to have been entirely satisfied; and, either to bring it more into accordance with his taste, or to give himself a sterner appearance in the field, he sometimes punctured his body with the figures of animals; at others painted it of a blue colour throughout.<sup>c</sup> We hardly think, as some have supposed, that such a practice is to be taken as proof of a very low state of civilisation; the figures thus represented were, probably, the distinctive marks of the family or tribe to which an individual belonged. In later times, we find such emblems confined to the shield, the breast-plate, or the helmet: but when, amongst the lower orders, articles of dress and ornament were neither very abundant—remembering, also, that it was their custom to rush almost naked into battle—it seems highly probable that the chiefs or leading men would encourage their

<sup>a</sup> Logan's Scot. Gael. I. 105, 110—when the colour of the hair happened to be too light, they made use of a particular dye to give it a darker shade.

<sup>b</sup> Ossian's “Colna-Donn,” and see Grant's Or. of the Gael, p. 198, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Caesar de Bell. Gall. Lib. V.—Herodian, Lib. III.

followers to keep up the habit of painting their bodies, although, from being better accoutred, they themselves might find it by no means convenient to adopt the practice. Of course, they would the more generally support this prevailing fashion, if they believed it could have any influence in shaking the self-confidence of an enemy, by giving to their own clansmen a ferocious aspect in the day of battle.<sup>a</sup>

The lapse of ages has materially changed the personal characteristics of the Celtic race, especially as regards the Northern branch of their descendants, the Highlanders of Scotland. The ruddy colour of the hair, undoubtedly, maintains its old ascendancy, but the "*candida corpora*" and "*cœrulei oculi*,"—the fair persons and the blue eyes—of the ancient Gael, no longer abound in the same proportion. Some admixture of foreign blood has probably led to the change; but, as all authentic history is silent on the subject, we can say nothing of the source whence came the dusky skin and sharp grey iris of the modern Gael.

The beauty of the British females was much admired by the Romans; we read of their commanding forms, their fine complexions, their pearly teeth, their small and delicate eyebrows, and other pictured charms,<sup>b</sup>

"Ambrosial to the sense of what is bright and fair,"

and close the page, grateful, it may be, to all the guardian powers that so much of *this* at least has not "gone down." But with all those soft attractions, undeniably their own, the daughters of the Celtæ could show a bold and fiery spirit when occasion called. Their appearance in the bloody strife was not uncommon, although, generally speaking, they rather hung as spectators in the rear than participated in the turmoil of the battle; but, if imperious necessity roused them to action, the lion-heart looked forth. When Marius attacked the Cimbri, their wives attempted to sustain the contest; and, if we can believe what is written, like the Hays at Luncarty, they threatened death to whomsoever should fly the conflict; it is even said that, in the fury of defeat, they murdered their own husbands.<sup>c</sup> The actions of Boadicea, the martial

<sup>a</sup> Many of the Continental tribes adopted the same custom: the Aarii are mentioned by Tacitus as having painted themselves; the Agathyrsi by Virgil, the Iapodes by Strabo, and the Sarmatians, &c. by Pliny.—See Trans. Scot. Antiq. Soc. v. I. p. 157.

<sup>b</sup> Athenæus qu. by Logan.—Diod. Sic. Lib. V.—Grant's Origin of the Gael, p. 194.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch in *Mario*.

queen of the Iceni, are too well known to require any remark. Cartismandua, another British lady, seems to have ruled with a high hand in the North of England<sup>a</sup>—evidence, indeed, abounds to show that their women possessed no inconsiderable influence in the warlike councils of the Celtic race.

As previously mentioned, the Caledonians were chiefly a pastoral people, either herdsmen or hunters—occupations well adapted to foster amongst them a spirit of independence, and an ardent love of that wild freedom which had for ages been their inheritance. They were—shoots from the great Asiatic stem—of a proud and choleric disposition, liable to sudden fits of resentment, and, when heated to anger, often ferocious to a proverb. But, in redeeming contrast, they have been accorded the possession of a certain lofty courage, which forbade them to trample on the fallen, or to glory in the misery of a helpless foe. So little however is known, from any direct source, of the national characteristics which distinguished the Northern Britons, that authors have, in general, been contented to look upon them as exhibiting, from their concealed retreats, the same peculiarities of habit and disposition which distinguished the Celtic race in other quarters of Europe. In such a view they are supposed to have been alternately debased by indolence, and by starts energetic—patient of hunger and fatigue—hospitable to strangers—exceedingly credulous, and very fond of news.<sup>b</sup> Their ties of domestic life were probably regulated, in a great measure, by habit or convenience;<sup>c</sup> but, however this may have been, they were undoubtedly a people strongly imbued with feelings of natural affection; and it was, perhaps, from the very intensity of this passion that the despairing Briton put his women and children to death, to save them from the hands of the Roman soldiery.<sup>d</sup>

At best, he moves before us on a dimly lighted stage, the skin-clad actor in the scenes of other years, alternating to the view with every shifting current of his inconstant nature; now lounging in sluggard idleness about his ragged village,<sup>e</sup> an enemy to all useful employment; or, anon, starting into activity, and glowing with savage ardour at the first sound that reaches him of approaching strife. There is a third character in which curiosity might, haply, desire to see

<sup>a</sup> Tacit. Hist. Lib. III. c. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Grant and Logan, *passim*.

<sup>c</sup> Cæs. Bell. Gall. Lib. V. c. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Tacit. Agric. c. 38.

<sup>e</sup> The fair skin of the Gael was ascribed to his habit of lying in bed in time of peace.—Logan, 110.

him; but he plays it in the far background, too securely shaded from view. We allude to his position as the subject of a dominant priesthood; the servant of its will—the labourer in its gigantic undertakings—the slave, in short, of that worst of all subjection—superstitious fear. In none of these lights did he, probably, shine to any great advantage, excepting when he went forth in his native valour, *armis instructis*, to act, as became him, for the general weal; but if we may point to any one virtue that appeared a steady principle of his being, it must be that love of his country and kindred which actuated the impoverished Caledonian to reject the gilded chain of Roman servitude.<sup>a</sup>

From the hasty temperament and restless disposition of the Celts, it naturally happened that they were often involved in hostilities with their neighbours. A life of long continued peace appears, indeed, to have had very little of a charm in their eyes; and the turmoil of contention may really be said to have been with them the wholesome exercise required to keep the body politic in a state of motion.<sup>b</sup> It followed, as a natural consequence, that the chief attention of their lives was devoted to warlike affairs, to the exclusion of almost everything else but the gratification of their indolent habits, the necessity of hunting for food, and the performance of whatever public duties were imposed upon them by the Druids. Amongst such a people the private comforts of existence were, no doubt, but slightly attended to; food, shelter, and raiment, were all that the common mass required; and, when these were secured, their quality was probably a matter of little consequence. If, in fact, the ancient Gael bore any near resemblance to the Scottish Highlander of a hundred years ago, the slightest attention paid to his own convenience must have drawn upon him the reproach of having fallen into effeminate habits; and, as it is clearly proved that much similarity of character did actually exist between them,<sup>c</sup> we may readily believe that the fighting men of the Horestii, and other tribes, were not insensible to some such feelings as those which alarmed the Macdonalds of Keppoch, when they beheld their chief adopt-

<sup>a</sup> Agricola certainly spared no efforts to temper down the keen edge of slavery.—Tacit. Agric. c. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Logan, 115. The passion for “things warlike” was not confined to the men: it is said that the British mothers gave the male infant its first morsel of food on the point of a sword, praying, at the same time, that it might die in war.—Note to Tacit. Agric.; Murphy’s Trans. c. 11.

<sup>c</sup> See Grant’s Orig. of the Gael, and Logan’s Highland Clans, for a variety of parallels.

ing the novel luxury of a pillow—although it happened to be but a ball of snow.

It may therefore be inferred that, in all his domestic arrangements, the Caledonian was equally careless and rude. He may not have been quite the savage that Xiphiline has represented; but, without doubt, his mode of life was deeply tinged with the shades of original barbarism. From all that is known of the ancient Britons, they appear, as before mentioned, to have generally lived together in towns, which were nothing more than irregular assemblages of very primitive huts, clustered within the shelter of some protecting wood. Their habitations probably resembled those of the Gauls, as described by Strabo—composed of the trunks of trees tapering inwards from the base, and having a hole at the top of the cone for the escape of smoke;<sup>a</sup> these appear to have been sometimes raised on circular foundations of stone, if we acquiesce in the opinion generally entertained regarding the Draonaich or Picts' houses, so common in the Highlands;<sup>b</sup> but structures of a more solid description were probably not unknown amongst them. The dwellings of their chiefs and Druids may, for instance, have been formed entirely of stone, and raised with every attention to strength, perhaps even to convenience. In various parts of the North of Scotland are still to be seen the remains of a very singular class of buildings, which many antiquaries have ascribed to the aborigines of the country; they are a species of short round towers, of considerable diameter in proportion to their height.<sup>c</sup> Perhaps the most remarkable are those which stand in Glenelg, Ross-shire. They are built entirely of unhewn stones, put together in a very skilful manner, without the aid of mortar; they have neither window nor loop-holes; could only be entered by a small opening at the bottom; and evidently appear to have been raised as places of habitation and defence. Some have supposed them to be the work of the Norwegians or Danes; but it is on the other hand conjectured, from the immense labour that must have attended their erection, that they could only have been built by a numerous and a permanently settled people; while, from their peculiarity of form, and the purely Gaelic names attached to them,

<sup>a</sup> Pennant, in 1772, found the natives of Jura housed in much the same style.

<sup>b</sup> *e. g.* On the west side of Loch Ness—in the vicinity of Arderseer, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Gordon describes one of these as being 33 feet high and 178 feet in circumference.—*Itin.* Sept. 167.

it is contended that these towers may be much more properly ascribed to the Caledonian Britons.<sup>a</sup> If they were the works of that people, they probably formed the strongholds of their chiefs. As to the particular manner in which their priests were accommodated, we are left in perfect ignorance; although there can be little doubt but that the "spiritual advisers" of the ancient Gael took every care to be properly attended to in this respect. Besides living in wooden huts above ground, the Caledonians seem to have occasionally burrowed, as it were, under the surface, excavating a hole large enough for the accommodation of a family, and roofing it over with branches and reeds. They are believed to have also harboured in caves, glad, it may be, when opportunity offered, to have a covering over-head without being subjected to the toil of placing it there;<sup>b</sup> but as the formation of their subterranean houses must generally have been attended with much more labour than was required to raise their tent-like huts, the former method was probably adopted solely from a desire of concealment; and certainly, in a densely wooded country, such places of retreat would not be easily discovered.<sup>c</sup>

Although, as a nation, the Caledonians did not practice agriculture, some little cultivation of the soil might, in all likelihood, here and there exist under the fostering care of the Druids. It can hardly be imagined that a class of men so well versed as they were in general knowledge, should not have felt desirous to raise, at least, a sufficient quantity of grain for their own accommodation, when it could be done, like all their other works, without any trouble to themselves; but the subject is altogether of a conjectural nature—slightly borne upon, perhaps, by the fact, that, in near vicinity to some of the remaining vestiges of Druid temples, the visitor may observe the marks of a cultivation that has flourished there in very distant ages.<sup>d</sup> And if it is to be credited that the Northern Briton was no stranger to the use of a liquor resembling modern ale,<sup>e</sup> should we not rather believe that some occasional

<sup>a</sup> Grant's *Origin of the Gael*; M'Pherson's *Diss. on the Antiquities of the ancient Caledonians*; Pennant's *Tour*; and Gordon's *Itinerarium*, who does not hesitate to bestow on them an antiquity of 2000 years.

<sup>b</sup> "Veniunt e latebris suis extrusi," &c.—Tacit. *Agric.* c. 13.

<sup>c</sup> See an account of an ancient subterranean village, at one time to be seen in the parish of Deer—Sinc. Stat. Acc. XVI. 481; and of another in the parish of Cathcart—N. Stat. Ac.

<sup>d</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acc. parish of Deer.

<sup>e</sup> Sir James Foulis' in *Trans. of Scot. Antiq. Soc.* v. I. p. 12.

patches of waving corn broke on the sombre gloom of our ancient forests, than that he imported his favourite beverage either from Scandinavia or from any other quarter?

Besides the tame herds browsing round their villages, the inhabitants were well supplied with horses of a small but spirited breed;<sup>a</sup> and in the chase they were accompanied by a race of dogs, which were noted in Rome for their strength and ferocity.<sup>b</sup> These last were no doubt the useful allies that encountered for them the Caledonian boar, so often represented in the legionary inscriptions; they were also the protectors of the cattle, and the sentinels of the village—natural foes, which the prowling wolf might seldom desire to meet.

The natives along the sea-coasts, and on the inland lakes, who probably first tempted the fickle element on rafts, must have learned, in course of time, and by a long residence in a maritime country, to shape the more applicable canoe, and even to build the roomier *currach*.<sup>c</sup> Many of these canoes—the rude barks of its early inhabitants—have been discovered in Scotland; some in the Lochar-Moss near Dumfries, others in Carlingwark-Loch, and in Lochwinnoch. One, which we take as an average specimen, measured nearly nine feet long, and two broad; it was formed from a single piece of timber, and appeared to have been hollowed by the action of fire. But of all the ancient vessels ever brought to light in this country, the most remarkable was that said to have been found near the confluence of the Carron and the Forth; it was formed, we are told, of a solid trunk of oak, and measured no less than thirty-six feet in length.<sup>d</sup> We may be certain that the people residing on the sea-board of North Britain possessed some such means of coasting their shores when Agricola entered the country; for Tacitus distinctly alludes to the fears which then possessed the natives, lest the presence of the Roman fleet should cut off their means of escaping by sea.<sup>e</sup> The use of boats amongst the Caledonians must however have been entirely confined to travelling purposes; for as fish was prohibited with them as an article of food,<sup>f</sup> their

<sup>a</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Gough's Camden, III. 367.

<sup>c</sup> Grant's Origin of the Gael, p. 67; Chalm. Caled. I. 101. The *currach* was a sort of diminutive ship, furnished with sails and oars. Those which Cæsar describes were made of wicker-work, covered with skins—De Bell. Gall. Lib. III.

<sup>d</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 101.

<sup>e</sup> Vit. Agric. c. 25.

<sup>f</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 460.

maritime knowledge could never be turned to account for the purpose of adding a variety to their accustomed supplies. The canoes above alluded to were generally discovered under a surface of peat moss, which had accumulated over the buried trees of the ancient woods; and there can be no doubt of their having belonged to a period that preceded the destruction of our primitive forests.

The mode of life which prevailed amongst the great mass of the people, although less savage than Xiphiline would lead us to believe, was still no doubt considerably tinged with those "shades barbaric" which could not but cling to an ever restless, labour-hating race, who, like the *Æquicula* of old, had "hunting for sport, and plundering for a trade."<sup>a</sup> And were it not that so many authorities concur on the subject, the reader, who looks back on the general condition of the aboriginal Britons, might naturally enough hesitate to believe all that has been written in regard to their well-armed appearance on the field of battle, and the superior character of their warlike appointments. But, in so far as refers to the Northern Tribes, we can no more deprive them of their armed chariots, their broad-swords, and "sounding shields," than we can take away the honour, unquestionably theirs, of having ventured to storm the ninth Roman legion in its camp, or of having met the army of Agricola in the front of open battle. The particulars of one and all are recorded in the same page; and who will presume to say, "*this* line shall stand as truth, and *that* be regarded as a fable"?

The people whom Agricola encountered in Scotland cannot therefore have been otherwise than tolerable proficient in the common branches of art; how else can we suppose them to have been supplied with all that *materiel* of war with which they are said to have appeared before him? Some small portion of it might probably have found its way from the South of England, or have been landed (who knows?) from the same adventurous bark which left her anchor among the shoals of the Esk;<sup>b</sup> but it seems in no degree probable that the Caledonians either had the opportunity to import a very large share of their military munition, or that the poor country they occupied could afford to pay for it.<sup>c</sup> A district like Cornwall, exclusively rich in minerals of well known

<sup>a</sup> Virgil's *Æneid*—Dryden's Trans. B. VII.

<sup>b</sup> *Ante*, p. 18.

<sup>c</sup> From the statements of Tacitus, Dion, and Herodian, it may be inferred that they were well provided with metallic weapons.



value, drew towards it the enterprising traders of Tyre and Carthage, and flourished by the connection that commerce established between them; but the rugged North, with all its undiscovered wealth, was then alike too unproductive and too little known to attract the notice of the merchant stranger, whose sail was probably never seen on its coast, unless impelled towards it by the storms and currents of the Irish Channel. What indeed could the inhabitants of this country have had to barter that was likely to have been coveted by foreigners in those remote times? Horses, cattle, and perhaps the skins of wild animals, were not the investments that the Phœnician trader would come so far in search of. The gold, the silver, and the pearls of Scotland—never very abundant—remained unknown until a much later age; and, unless we may suppose the ancient Caledonian to have been so well acquainted with the smelting of iron, that he actually produced more than he himself required, it will be difficult perhaps to discover a single article which he could have bartered for imported arms or armour in any material quantity. It is, however, extremely probable that he had early learned to supply his own wants, in so useful a metal, from the masses of ball iron-stone which were to be found without trouble in several parts of the country.\*

Indolent and uninformed as were the bulk of the people, they must accordingly have had amongst them artificers both in wood and iron, not unskilled in their respective trades,—able to construct the body of a car—to provide for it axles of great strength—above all, able to construct the wheels, and to arm them with those sharp-edged instruments that were destined to cut down whatever opposed their course. When this was effected, the sword and other weapons appear as things of easy achievement, the mere bye-play of men who could frame the “flying chariots” which led into the fight.

Of the many British antiquities discovered in Scotland, such as axes, arrows, spear-heads, &c. the majority are of stone, and some few of brass, or rather bronze. Instruments of iron are very rare; a circumstance easily accounted for, from the great liability of that metal to corrosion and rapid decay. Among those curious articles of unknown use called brass celts, some are

\* That he was not without iron is certain. In one of the native canoes, previously mentioned, an *iron* grapple or anchor was found.—Pennant's Tour, III. 93. The natives wore *iron* ornaments about their persons—Herodian, Lib. III. In the west Barony of Kilsyth, there is an uncommon collection of ball iron-stones of very rich quality: they lie in the bed of a rapid streamlet—Sinclair's Stat. Acc. V. xviii. p. 231.

of rather elegant shape, with considerable pretensions to ornament; but whether they are of native manufacture or not, it is impossible to say: most probably they were imported at the instance of the Druids, and made use of by them as amulets or talismans;<sup>a</sup> hence, perhaps, are they found to have been so often buried with the dead. These Celts have been discovered in various parts of Europe—in Great Britain, Ireland, France, and even amid the ruins of Herculaneum:<sup>b</sup> one and all, they are remarkably alike; so much so, that, in many instances, we might believe numbers of them to have been cast in the same mould, although found in situations widely apart.<sup>c</sup> Undoubtedly there was a time when the existence of iron in this country was totally unknown to its inhabitants, and in that age they were obliged to have recourse to stone hatchets, arrows pointed with flint, and many similar contrivances, to supply the want of metal; but this period of ignorance had certainly gone by before their young men and grey-headed sires were called on to arm in hostility to a Roman army. Whatever they possessed in brass or gold<sup>d</sup> may possibly have found its way from the South; but we have no reason to believe that they were very abundantly supplied with either.

While directing his attention to the ancient condition of our country, the reader will naturally be at a loss to conceive why the descendants of the nomadic Celtæ should ever have thought of introducing into this far corner of the world that invention of the east—the war chariot; but perhaps it is still more difficult to understand how, with all his ingenuity, the Caledonian of old could manage to adapt it to the rugged surface of his pathless wilds. Yet he seems to have done so to good purpose; for these armed cars were no pieces of mere holiday show, calculated for display on the smooth and level

<sup>a</sup> See Higgins, 51.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> For various representations of these "Celts," see Gough's *Camden*, V. III. plates 37 and 38—Higgins' "Celtic Druids," plate 27, and the plates to Borlase's *Cornwall*. We strongly incline to think that all the weapons and other articles of bronze possessed by the ancient Britons were introduced into this island by the Phœnicians. Cæsar states that the South Britons had mines of silver, iron, tin, and lead, but that they *imported* brass. "When thy wares went forth out of the seas," says the prophet Ezekiel, addressing the city of Tyre, "thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise," (chap. xxvii. v. 33.) The inhabitants of our isles enjoyed, no doubt, their share in the dispersion of Phœnician manufactures here alluded to; for, according to the general language of the prophet, there was scarcely a people then known with whom, apparently, the Tyrians did not trade.

<sup>d</sup> Gold ornaments have occasionally been found under the old cairns and barrows. They are generally considered as having belonged to the Druids.

course; far from it: bearing in front the most distinguished warriors, and drawn along by the fiery little steeds of the north, they were seen to dash at speed over the roughest ground, turning with ease in all directions, and bringing up, with a sudden jerk, whenever rock or river stopped the way. In battle they were driven full upon the ranks of the enemy; when these remained unbroken, the charioteer leaped to the ground, and plied his sword on foot—ready, if overborne, to resume his former post, and to escape, as he came, from the consequence of defeat.\*

But, with all the display of force that attended this mode of fighting, it proved of no avail against the tried discipline of the Roman soldiery. We learn from Cæsar that some of his troops exhibited a wavering spirit when first threatened by those dread-looking machines;<sup>b</sup> their inherent firmness, however, soon taught them to disregard the clamorous advance of the chariots, and the despairing Britons had the misfortune to find that this, their mightiest arm of war, was harmless when opposed to the bristling ranks of the invaders. It often happened, indeed, as at the battle of the Grampians, that the employment of those cars was far more destructive to the native forces than to the enemy; hence, after the first periods of Roman aggression, they gradually disappeared.

For some account of the Caledonian order of battle, and other details of their appearance in the field, we refer the reader to the narrative of Agricola's seventh campaign, which will be found in the following chapter. Although unable to cope rank to rank with the well trained legions, or their auxiliary cohorts, the native Briton was no despicable enemy, when he found an opportunity of assailing them from under covert. Within the dim recesses of the forest he breathed the purest atmosphere of conscious liberty, and there, amid his "old ancestral trees," he fled like a grim spectre about the Roman line of march, hanging unseen upon the flanks of the columns, or lingering at a safe distance in the rear—ever ready for the quick assault, when any appearance of disorder promised him success.<sup>c</sup> After the time of Agricola, in all their quarrels with the Romans, the Caledonians appear to have confined themselves to a guerilla system of attack or defence—seldom if ever risking the

\* Tacit. Agric. and note in Murphy's Trans.—Cæsar De Bell. Gall. The manner in which the Britons used their chariots, is also alluded to by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Pomponius Mela.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. IV. c. 33.

<sup>c</sup> Dion. Cass. on the campaign of Severus.

hazard of an open engagement. In this respect they no doubt acted wisely enough, and perhaps no other plan could have long preserved them from utter destruction.

There still exist in Scotland the numerous vestiges of a highly interesting description of ancient military works, known by the name of Hill Forts, within many of which, it is supposed, the early Briton kept his "watch and ward," long before the time when it became his employment to observe the motions of a Roman army. They are confined to no particular districts, but appear in greatest number to the South of the Forth; and although some few of these strongholds may be the memorials of another people, and of a later age, there can be no reasonable doubt of the great majority having belonged to that period when the wars of the Britons were all of a domestic character. These camps or stations are, without exception, of a round or oval form, and must always be looked for on the summit of a commanding hill, or on the top of some isolated rising ground. When any approach to the oblong shape appears, it may either be taken as sure evidence that the hand of a Roman has been there, or that, in comparatively modern times, the descendant of the Saxon has had occasion to repair the ramparts of a people who had abandoned them for ages before his appearance on the scene.

The Hill Forts may, properly speaking, be divided into several classes, according to size, strength, and method of construction. The first in importance are those which have been erected in positions naturally strong, and on which the greatest labour has been bestowed; such, for instance, amongst some others, are the entrenchments on Barra Hill, Aberdeenshire, and the two extraordinary posts in the county of Forfar, which are known by the name of the Caterthuns.\* Next to those may be placed the common circular camps, so often to be met with among the "braes of Galloway," on the Lammermoor hills, and in various other quarters. These are generally of from three to four hundred feet in diameter, and are surrounded by simple ramparts of earth, or of earth and stones conjoined; but, in some instances, even in posts of second-rate importance, the walls are almost entirely composed of dry stone-work. Of a somewhat similar description, but much smaller in size, are the native *castella*, as they may be called, or lesser places of strength,

\* The white Caterthun is defended by a wall of loose stones, measuring 100 feet thick at the base, and 25 feet across the top—Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 205.

apparently used by the Romans as points of observation from which to watch the movements of their enemies. They are frequently formed of stone, and many of their vestiges may yet be seen in different quarters—as, for example, along the vale of Menteith, or on the southern slope of the Kilsyth and Campsie hills—in a *vis-a-vis* position to the Roman forts on the wall of Antoninus.

In some places, where the nature of the country had been found suitable for such an arrangement, a number of the smaller camps may be seen crowning with their circular ramparts the adjacent heights, and forming a sort of cluster round some one fortress of commanding importance. These were no doubt the principal retreats of a tribe, erected within view of each other, and placed as near as possible to the stronghold of the leading chief.<sup>a</sup> Thus situated, they presented to every invader the stern front of a combined resistance; and so long as this was only called for amid the turmoil of intestine war, they probably served, to the fullest extent, to meet the purposes for which they were intended. But against the Romans those native strongholds had proved apparently of no great avail, judging from the short time required by Agricola to complete the almost entire subjection of southern Scotland.

In some instances, the invading forces would seem to have been so well satisfied with the positions occupied by these British encampments, that they had, apparently, thought proper to establish themselves amongst their broken ramparts; for, in one or two quarters, the *vallum* of a Roman station is seen to intersect the still more ancient vestiges of the Caledonian works.<sup>b</sup>

Many of those Hill Forts have been ascribed to the Danes; but on no warrantable authority, as far as we can discover. It is probable enough that the followers of the Sea Kings may have at times found it convenient to make use of the deserted holds of the early Britons—they may even have much changed the appearance of some of them, by adding to the original defences; but it is by no means probable that these wandering pirates should have ever been at the trouble to erect such numerous places of strength as have been ascribed to them, in a country which they never intended permanently to occupy. These widely-scattered encampments were certainly not the handiwork of any casual visitors; and if they be not attributed to the

<sup>a</sup> As at the Eildon hills, &c. For a particular account of the native strengths, see Chalm. Caled. I. 87—94. <sup>b</sup> e. g. At Inchstuthill on the Tay, at Castle-over, &c.—Chalm. Caled. I. 88.

British Celts—who must have inhabited this country for ages without coming in contact with a foreign enemy, but still with no want of occasion to arm “*pro aris et focis*”—to whom shall we yield the palm of having laboured in their erection? Not surely to the Scots and Picts, the supposed descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants—their mode of warfare had little to do with walls and guarded camps;\* not to the Saxons—else we should find these forts much less general throughout the country: at no after-period, indeed, from the first invasion of the Romans until that time when the light of modern history breaks upon the scene, can we discover an age in which an entire similarity of arrangement, such as the Hill Forts exhibit, could have prevailed with a general influence among the people of North Britain.

Amongst the other native retreats of very remote antiquity, may perhaps be placed the Vitrified Forts, which seem closely to resemble many of the ordinary defensive inclosures; with this exception, that, in the former case, the exterior face of the ramparts have been melted into a solid mass, by the action of fire. Accident no doubt imparted to their builders this most enduring method of consolidating the irregular stonework of which these walls are composed, and the means adopted by them to effect their object may be easily conceived, when it is understood that they had discovered the vitrifying properties of more than one particular mineral. Having completed the labour of building up the rampart, they probably piled around it the trunks and branches of trees gathered from the surrounding forest, and, after setting them on fire, permitted the blazing element to finish the task. Some have doubted the fact of the vitrified forts having been the work of human hands, ascribing their origin to volcanic action; but this idea seems completely set at rest by referring to the actual appearance of these singular remains, where regular places of entrance may generally be seen; in some instances, the serial traverses which guarded them appear almost intact.<sup>b</sup>

\* Like the Danes, they perhaps made use of the primitive fortresses when occasion required; but there is little probability of their having built either the Caterthuns, or any of the other Hill Forts. See Chalm. Caled. V. I. B. I. *passim*.

<sup>b</sup> See Mr. Anderson's Account of the Vitrified Forts, Arch. of Ant. Soc. Lond. vol. V.; and Dr. Macculloch's work on the Highlands, vol. I. p. 299—who distinctly ascribes them to the earliest inhabitants.—An antiquarian friend suggests that the vitrification was perhaps caused by the burning of the original walls, which, in many instances, had been formed, it is believed, of stone, timber, and earth conjoined.

Such were the strongholds to which, it is presumed, the Caledonian Britons retired when too weak to cope with their opponents in the open field, and into which their wives and children were removed, when the surrounding country lay at the mercy of an enemy. The approaches to their towns or villages were, no doubt, protected by breastworks of timber and wattled stockades, in the same manner as were those which led to the capital of Cassibelanus. But these forest redoubts could only have presented the means of temporary defence; so that when the war-parties of one tribe proceeded in force through the territories of another, they were probably allowed an unopposed entrance among the deserted villages, to find the vanished inhabitants safely eyeing their motions, from some such eyrie as the fort on Barrahill, or that which crowned the summit of the lordly Eildon.

Mr. Chalmers remarks, that the Caledonian Britons were probably less governed by law than by religion; and that, in matters of a purely civil nature, their proceedings, like those of the American Indians, were regulated by the decisions of their old men or patriarchal chiefs. In time of war, a species of dictatorship was no doubt exercised by such as were appointed to the chief command; but, from all that is known of their national characteristics, it seems perfectly reasonable to suppose that, amongst the early Britons, the direction of public affairs was very widely intrusted to the guidance of their priesthood. In reality, it is impossible to form a line of distinction between their institutions of law and government, and those of their religion; so intimately were they united, and so exclusively did "ghostly" influence possess the scene, to the prejudice of all genuine freedom, and to the advancement of a debasing superstition. This brings us to the threshold of that dim and mysterious fabric—the mighty structure of Druid power—of which we merely, as it were, distinguish the salient features, as they lower upon us through the more than twilight gloom of twice ten hundred years. We in reality hesitate to approach the subject, so much space would be required to do it even the slightest justice, and so little more have we to devote to this section of the volume. We can only attempt, therefore, to take a very cursory view of the religious system which flourished in the country at the time of the Roman invasion, leaving the reader, who may desire to pursue the subject, to consult the various learned authorities who are referred to in the subsequent pages.

When recently alluding to the condition of the Caledonian tribes, it was thought necessary to state that our attention was solely directed to the people at large, or, if we may so express it, to the laity of the Gaelic race; for in the same ages that we find the bulk of the inhabitants existing in a state of semi-barbarism, there dwelt amongst them a class of men wonderfully enlightened for the country and the time; and, if we may credit but one-half of what has been said in favour of their attainments, by no means unworthy to be, in many respects, compared with the boasted sages of Egypt and of early Greece. Those men were the Druids, who claimed the distinction of being the priests, the bards, the lawgivers, the physicians, and the philosophers of Celtic Europe. They appear, in fact, to have centred within their own pale the entire amount of mental enlightenment which had in early times penetrated to the shores of Britain: and with "miser care" seem they to have veiled the light of the higher branches of their knowledge from the eyes of the multitude, well knowing, we may presume, that the lustre of their own importance told with increased effect, in proportion as it contrasted with the general darkness around. The origin of the Druid hierarchy is lost in obscurity; and although it is by many believed that the first appearance of the sept was amongst the Celtic Tribes of Asia, and that they came to mingle with these nomadic hordes—foreigners in habits and in blood—nothing beyond a somewhat plausible conjecture can be formed on the question of their extraction. It has been asserted that their peculiar religion could boast of as high an antiquity as has been claimed for that professed by the Persian Magi, or by the Chaldeans of Assyria;<sup>a</sup> and possibly enough there was a nearer connection among the three than has been generally supposed. Of the various theories, however, which have been promulgated in regard to the early history of the Druids, the most feasible, perhaps, where so much belongs to conjecture, is that which connects them with the ancient priests of Buddha, who were expelled from Hindostan by the Brahmans many centuries before the birth of our Saviour.<sup>b</sup> But from whatever quarter they came, those votaries of

<sup>a</sup> Origen against Celsus—and Clement of Alexandria, as quoted in Smith's Gaelic Antiquities.

<sup>b</sup> Ritter, a German author of much research, supposes the Buddhists to have migrated to Thrace, &c. and to have been the introducers of civilisation into that quarter of Europe—See his *Vorhallen Europaischer Volker Geschichte*.



religion had, no doubt, become firmly established among the wandering tribes of their adoption, at some period long prior to the time when the latter bent their steps towards the shores of the *Ægean*. With them they passed, it is supposed, into Europe; regarded by the unenlightened multitude as beings of a superior order, and acting, we may imagine, as their directors in every affair of moment.

Confining ourselves to the Druidic system as it existed in Britain, we find that its hierarchy was divided into several classes or ranks—the Druids proper or priests; the Bards, who were the minstrels and oral historians of the tribes; and the Eubages, or probationers of the order; above all of whom presided an Arch-Druid, or sovereign head, who was chosen by suffrage from amongst the worthiest of their number.<sup>a</sup> From the lowest to the highest ranks, the progress was gradual and by very slow degrees. Forming as they did a united body, strong in their superior knowledge, and powerful through the superstitious tendency of an ignorant people, the priesthood of the early Britons were, no doubt, the retainers of all real power; and, on this account, an admission within their pale could not but be regarded as a fortunate circumstance for those among the native youth who were selected to be educated for the service of religion. The most promising amongst them were generally chosen for this purpose; and, when once devoted to the cause, their connection with other pursuits was entirely cut off, and they were, step by step, initiated into the secret lessons of their faith. It was indeed in no ordinary length of time, that the young aspirant was enabled to surmount the steep ascent which led him to a full acquaintance with the carefully guarded mysteries of Druidic erudition; and so slowly was the veil removed that a twenty-years' probationship was, we are told, required before he could be entitled to enter on the higher duties of the priesthood. It is said to have been a fundamental law with the Druids, that no article of their faith or teaching should be committed to writing;<sup>b</sup> everything therefore was trusted to memory; and, when such was the case, it is not to be thought surprising that their course of education should have proved both extremely tedious and protracted.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, Lib. IV. <sup>b</sup> Smith's *Gaelic Antiquities*—and Toland's *Hist of the Druids*—*passim*.

<sup>c</sup> *Cæs. de Bell. Gall. Lib. VI.*

And what, it may be asked, did the aspirant acquire during this tardy progress through the various gradations of his order? What had the rude teachers of a barbarous people to confer, in the matter of instruction, which could have any proper title to the name? The question cannot certainly be answered to the full extent that might be desired; but, from a brief consideration of what is known regarding the knowledge possessed by the Druids, both in science and in the arts, we may conclude that they were in some degree remarkably enlightened, and that they really had it in their power to instruct the minds of their disciples on many subjects, of a higher utility than such as were merely connected with the mysteries of their worship, or with the warlike traditions of their ancestral tribes.

It is averred, for example, that they were no mean proficient in the study of astronomy; a science brought, perhaps, with the first colonies of the Celtæ, from the plains of central Asia. They had some acquaintance with the secrets of chemical knowledge, with natural philosophy, and with medicine.<sup>a</sup> All this appears sufficiently certain, from what is mentioned by Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Herodotus, and others. They appear to have been familiar with many particulars relating to the magnitude of our globe, and to the motions of the heavenly bodies;<sup>b</sup> aided, it is thought, in their discoveries, by some means of observation similar to those presented by the modern telescope.<sup>c</sup> The manufacture of glass, and of a species of fulminating, or gun-powder, were not unknown to them;<sup>d</sup> while it must be apparent, from the gigantic specimens which have been left us amongst the Druid remains scattered over the country, that their acquaintance with the mechanical powers could not have been slight.

<sup>a</sup> Smith Gael. Antiq.—and Higgins on the Celtic Druids—*passim*.

<sup>b</sup> Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Lib. VI.

<sup>c</sup> *Hecataeus* (apud Diod.) speaks of an invention, known amongst the *Boreades* of a hyperborean island, little less than Sicily, and adjacent to *Calibia*, (a description very applicable to Britain,) which could bring the moon very near them, and show the appearance of mountains, &c. upon its surface—Smith, p. 63.

<sup>d</sup> What but a chemical preparation, nearly akin to gunpowder, could produce the artificial storms of thunder and lightning, which, according to Diodorus and others, shook in ancient times the sacred groves, as well as the Delphic temple—the brilliant flash succeeded by the deafening sound? Pieces of glass have been found in the oldest cairns. The Rev. Mr. Smith (Gaelic Antiq. p. 64) supposes the Druids to have acquired the secret of its manufacture from the Phœnicians. It is known to have been a staple commodity with the merchants of Sidon.

But besides acquiring a general knowledge of the attainments in science—which the Druid order preserved, with jealous care, within its own pale—the advancing novice had likewise to make himself a proficient in those religious mysteries which instructed him in the most powerful method of applying what he had been taught, to the extension of sacerdotal authority over the opinions of the people. In the character of bard, he had to store his memory with the historical poetry of his nation—in that of priest, with the principles of its laws, and with the lessons of its religion.

Like many other creeds, which have declined in purity as their professors gave way to the allurements of worldly power, the tenets of Druidism had, in the latter age of its existence, become darkened by cruelty and the grossest practices of superstitious craft. It would appear, however, that in earlier times its principles were of a highly moral, rational, and even elevated character: more so, perhaps, than were those of any religious system which preceded the era of Christianity, with the exception of that established among the descendants of Abraham. The Druids taught, it is said, the belief in one only God, the eternal source of all good, the creator of the universe, and the great judge of mankind. The sun they chose as an emblem of his beneficence, which was typified, to their minds, in the physical blessings around them of life and light. In its presence they beheld the great sign of their faith—hence it occurred that, in the highest imagery of worship, they sought not for temples roofed by human hands; but were contented to establish their altars in the open groves, and to pay their adorations beneath the vault of heaven.<sup>a</sup>

They believed in the immortality of the soul—pictured a future life as the scene of reward or punishment—inculcated reverence for the Almighty, and justice to mankind; and, in short, looking to the fairest side of the picture, they were undoubtedly the means of introducing, among the Celtic nations, whatever civilisation their scattered tribes could boast of before the advance of the Romans into western Europe.<sup>b</sup> But, by the time when the emperor Claudius directed his attention to the conquest of Britain, the early simplicity of the Druid worship had become tainted with many impurities. From the little that is known on the subject, it would appear that the polytheism,

<sup>a</sup> v. Tacit. "Germania," C. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Diod. Sic. Lib. V.; Ammianus Marcellinus Lib. XV.; Cæs. de Bell. Gall. Lib. VI.

which afterwards became so general with them, had been before then introduced amongst our island clans; and that, among the British Celtæ, the worship of the one only God had given way to a complicated system of idolatry, of a character very much akin to that which existed amongst the ancient inhabitants of Egypt and Greece.\* The sacrifice of human victims accompanied the change, and the dominion of the priesthood became, in consequence, more tyrannical. It rested no longer on the pure foundation of morality and justice, but seems to have taken its stand on the blood-stained altar of idolatry; maintaining its place through the influence of popular terror, and confirming that terror by all the devices which superior intelligence could command—whether in reference to the less common phenomena of the universe, or to that species of natural magic which enabled the Druid to call down, in vulgar belief, the “leven light” of the firmament, and to imitate the thunders of gods themselves.

The desire of supreme authority, acquired by such means, could scarcely fail to be easily gratified amongst the hierarchy of ancient Britain—for where was the man, amongst a superstitious and uneducated people, who might dare to withstand the (so called) delegates of heaven? a class which appeared, to their eyes, the keepers of its secrets, and which claimed to itself the power of hurling on the head of the recusant, the awful penalties of excommunication in this life, and of condemnation in that which was to come. The cast of disobedience was not one which could be rashly thrown, either by the “high chief” or his lowly dependant; and it naturally followed that the will of the priesthood was the real source of all government and of all law. No expedition of war—no arrangements for peace—could probably be entered into without their interference. In most instances, therefore, when the ancient Briton was called into the field, it was, we may feel certain, to be animated for the combat by the voices of his religious superiors. Such, at all events, was the case in many a struggle with the Roman legions, particularly in the attack on the Island of Anglesey, during the reign of Nero, when

\* Smith, in his *Gaelic Antiquities*, Chap. II. questions if *polytheism* was known amongst the Britons before the Roman invasion. We find so many references made, however, both by ancient authors and in existing inscriptions, to various local deities, that we cannot but suppose their worship to have been established amongst our primitive ancestors, long before the Romans made their appearance in the country.

the Druids appeared amongst the native forces, invoking the powers of heaven in their behalf.\*

It may appear surprising, that, with such a class of men to control the affairs of the Celtic tribes, their intestine wars should have been so frequent as it is said they were. We might naturally suppose that it would best have accorded with the united interests of their sacerdotal rulers to have enforced the dictates of peace: but who can fathom the springs of human action, even in existing times? The Druids were men of ambitious desires: within their own pale the passions of the heart had, possibly enough, "full nourishment to blow;" and well might such feelings have been nurtured amongst *them* as those which, in modern ages, have so often divided one against another the supporters and the teachers of a far nobler faith: nor is it incompatible, from the study of human nature, to suppose that, in proportion to the advantages gained by their countrymen in battle, the priesthood of one tribe might seek to acquire some degree of superiority over those of another.

On the personal appearance and peculiar ceremonies of the Druids our limits forbid us to enter; we may say the same in regard to those numerous remains, existing in this part of the Island, which point to the time when the smoke of their altars rose from the dark bosom of our primeval forests. In the northern parts of Scotland, and in some of the western Isles, these vestiges of Britain's highest antiquity are still to be seen in considerable numbers. They may be arranged under the several heads of circular temples, similar in character, although none of them equal in size or preservation, to that at Stonehenge—Cromlechs or altars—and earthen Tumuli. A mere catalogue of these would possess no interest—a description of them might fill a volume. To the reader who may desire to pursue the subject, we recommend the curious works of Toland and of Vincent Higgins.

The whole Druidic race was exceedingly obnoxious to the Romans. Everywhere did those "conquerors of the nations" find the native priesthood their implacable foes—the last to yield obedience to their rule, and the first to rekindle warfare when occasion offered. Their religion was accordingly proscribed by the Imperial Lieutenants, and its professors were either forced to abandon its practice, or to retire for safety into the wild retreats of the Caledonian forests. There, within the shelter of our Highland barrier, it

\* Tacit. Annal. Lib. XIV. c. 30.

long continued to maintain its ground, but with gradually diminished power, as each successive change swept over the condition of the Caledonian people; until eventually it forsook the mainland altogether, to seek a last retreat among the western islands,\* and finally to disappear before the light of Christianity, that "day-spring from on high," as it has been elegantly expressed, which descended on the "isles of the Gentiles," to prepare the way for civilisation, and to bring them light.

The object aimed at in the preceding pages, has been to lay before the non-antiquarian reader a few such particulars, on the early condition of the country and of its inhabitants, as might haply prove of some little interest to those who may chance to cast an eye upon our volume, for the sake of the discoveries which have found a record there. We by no means profess to have attempted a finished picture, in any sense of the term; but merely a feeble outline, barely sufficient, perhaps, to present the leading features of a scene—never, at best, to be effectually cleared from the shadows which are gathered around it in the mighty distance.

The time has passed away when any serious attention might be directed to the pretended glimmerings of light, which some of our olden writers have thought proper to cast on the early history of the Caledonian people. The "Agricola" of Tacitus is, in fact, the only written source from which it is possible to deduce any authentic information as to the actual condition of this part of the Island, at that period when the eyes of the civilised world were first directed towards it. The legendary songs of the Highland bards—granting all that is claimed in their behalf—date but from the declining age of the Roman authority in Britain. Beyond their time, the horizon of native tradition exhibits no "sign;" we must depend therefore on the lamp of the stranger, or without it be involved in those mazes of fable, which—far worse than positive ignorance—confound the march of truth, and

"Cheat her worshippers with specious lies."

But, after all, how little has been saved?

"Who shall contend with Time?—unvanquish'd Time—  
The conqueror of conquerors, the lord  
Of desolations."

\* Smith's Gael. Ant. p. 83.

The material world, with all its tendril asocations, are his legitimate prey; and although it may possibly be said, that we are no great losers by our imperfect acquaintance with the more ancient history of western Europe—still, when we look to the extraordinary labours which Borlase, Higgins, Vallancey, and other writers, have devoted to the subject, we cannot but perceive that it has commanded the attention of at least an enthusiastic, if not a large section of the educated world. And we are left to regret that, amid all their elaborate researches, the authentic memorials of Celtic Britain remain so few in number, and so obscurely defined.

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## CHAPTER II.

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### HISTORICAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROMANS IN NORTH BRITAIN.

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"Rome, whose ascending towers shall heaven invade,  
Involving earth and ocean in her shade."

*Dryden's Æneid, B. VI.*

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IF the ancient inhabitants of Britain could have foreseen the consequences it involved, they might justly have entertained an equal interest—even with the proud nobility of Rome—in the decision of Cæsar, when he resolved to march on Italy, and overturn a government he felt unwilling to obey: the cherished interests of both may be said to have depended on this turn of fortune's wheel; for if the future Dictator had remained satisfied with a provincial command, the page of history would undoubtedly have had more to relate of his achievements in this Island; and whilst our ancestors might have found earlier cause than they did to bewail their ruined freedom, the Roman Senate would have preserved its own. But on this occasion the "fickle goddess" sported with baubles of high price, and from the plains of Pharsalia she smiled on the barbarian world. The success indeed of Cæsar's ambitious plans, the duties of government, and the often required defence of his assumed position, effectually relieved the ancient Britons from a recurrence of his visits; and as their country remained for nearly a century after his departure undisturbed by the appearance of any foreign enemy, it is probable



that all traces of his short occupation had disappeared, long before it again harmonised with the policy, or lay within the power of Rome, to assail the independence of their Island tribes. The natural moderation, or, perhaps, caution of Augustus, led him to discourage in general any extension of Empire; while under the degraded rule of his successors, Tiberius and Caligula, little was done to promote the ascendancy of the Roman arms. In those times, every path to honourable distinction was closed, and the national spirit would seem to have expired amid the destruction of all that was either noble or good. During those three reigns the Britons consequently remained unmolested; but on the accession of Claudius the state of affairs was considerably changed. Amid the improved circumstances of the empire, the desire of foreign conquest revived; and he had not long occupied the throne before a Roman army was again landed on the shores of Kent. From this period commenced the actual subjugation of the British people, and the overthrow of all those institutions—civil, military, and religious—which had for ages found shelter within the primeval forests of the country. The islanders, who offered at first but little opposition to the invading forces, believing that these would retire after a few inland marches, as the army of Cæsar had done, were fated to be early awakened from their dream of security by the systematic advance of their enemies. But every attempt to oppose them was then made in vain; and the Imperial Legates proceeded, as is known, year after year, in adding to their conquests, till the greater part of England was reduced into the form of a Roman province. In this state it existed, with the Humber for its northern boundary, when the emperor Vespasian conferred the honour of its government on the early adherent of his fortunes, Cnæus Julius Agricola.

Prior to this period, Agricola had served with much distinction in Britain, where he enjoyed the reputation of high military talent, and of a character singularly pure and upright for the age in which he lived. He was endeared to the soldiery by the self-denying generosity of his disposition; was intimately acquainted with the country and the manners of its inhabitants; and, in every respect, seems to have been eminently fitted for the command which he now assumed. His arrival in this Island took place in the year 78 A. D.<sup>a</sup> at which time there appears to have been only three legions<sup>b</sup> in the country—

<sup>a</sup> A. U. C. 831.

<sup>b</sup> The Second, Ninth, and Twentieth.

comprising, with their auxiliary cohorts, a force of from thirty to forty thousand men. But in addition to which there were, in all probability, many detached bodies of veteran soldiers and others, dispersed on garrison service; whose numbers would materially swell the roll, in forming a total estimate of the Roman resources. The greater part of the legionary troops were, it is believed, at this period, quartered in the counties of Warwick, Stafford, and Chester;<sup>a</sup> placed there to overawe the people of North Wales, who still maintained their independence, and occasionally threatened to disturb the peace of the districts already subdued. The first efforts of Agricola were therefore directed against these recusants. At the head of a part of the army assembled on its borders, he successfully penetrated the defiles of their rugged country, defeated the natives in battle, and enforced their submission, by pursuing them into their last retreat, the island of Anglesey. In the following summer he appears to have proceeded to the north, as far as the isthmus of the Tyne and Solway, where he established a chain of forts to protect the frontier of his conquests.

Some writers have supposed, that, during the second year of Agricola's command, the Roman forces did not advance beyond what is now the county of Lancaster; while others have conducted them, at one vast step, over all the intervening districts, to the plains of Lothian. Neither of these opinions, however, seem to be in accordance with the statements of Tacitus, which appear clearly to indicate that his operations were, during that season, neither confined to the narrow limits of a single county, nor yet extended to such a distance as would reach the shores of Forth. In every point of view, it seems highly probable that the Romans overran, in the year 79, the whole north of England; wintering on nearly the same ground where afterwards stood the walls of Hadrian, and of Septimus Severus.<sup>b</sup> By many readers the particular progress of the Roman arms, year by year, may be regarded as a matter of very slight importance; as it will be difficult however to present a distinct view of Agricola's invasion, without attempting to define the limit of his several campaigns, we shall perhaps be excused for occasionally entering on particulars, which, to any but the professed antiquary, may appear but of trivial moment.

<sup>a</sup> Roy's Milit. Antiq. pp. 70 and 77.

<sup>b</sup> See—*passim*—Roy's Milit. Antiquities, Whitaker's Manchester, Chalmers' Caledonia, and Gordon's Itinerarium.

Presuming that a considerable portion, at least, of the Roman army had spent the preceding winter in Cumberland and Northumberland, we shall suppose Agricola, on the approach of summer A. D. 80, to have again placed himself at its head, prepared to push his conquests into the mountainous regions which lay exposed before him. During the months of inactivity which had passed, the various officers in command had, most probably, been engaged in acquiring some knowledge of the districts in front, into which it was intended to advance their standards. For this purpose many of the natives may have been enticed into the camps of the legions, and bribed to point out the best routes through the forest or morass, and the most accessible passes of the mountains. In this manner Agricola may have collected much useful information on the state of our border counties, before he broke up his winter quarters, and opened his third campaign.

The exact force with which he entered Scotland cannot now be ascertained; but it may be presumed that he did not venture on the invasion of an unknown and extensive country, without summoning around him every man who could be withdrawn from other duties. With every desire, however, of augmenting the invading army, he must have been compelled to leave many considerable detachments behind, to occupy the forts he had erected, and to maintain possession of the country in his rear. On this account the number of his field troops would be materially decreased, and we shall not perhaps fall very wide of the truth, if we estimate the amount of his followers at from twenty-five to thirty thousand men.\*

The Roman army either advanced in two divisions—the one keeping to the left, through the county of Dumfries—the other marching eastward into Roxburgh and Berwick: or the entire force pushed forward upon one only of those routes—proceeding in two columns, the first a day's march or more a-head of the other. These conclusions have been arrived at from an examination of the vestiges of various Roman camps, which have been, or which still can be, traced in the south of Scotland. Many of them may, with great probability, be ascribed to the troops of Agricola, when it is considered that by no other route could he, without almost insurmountable difficulty, have penetrated the hilly regions of the Scottish Border.

\* Gen. Roy supposes that the complement of the legions was probably diminished on this occasion; p. 79.

The existence of those military works does not, however, enable us to determine whether the Roman forces entered the country by a simultaneous movement, east and west, or only on one particular line of march. But, if their formation may be ascribed to the period in question, they plainly point out the course followed by the invaders, and likewise show that the whole army could not have advanced in a united body; as none of those camps have been thought capable of containing a greater number than ten or twelve thousand men. Finding the remains of such entrenched works upon both routes, it might, at first sight, appear certain that Agricola had directed his march by the two approaches. But as it appears that the same general, on more than one occasion, led back a part of his forces into England, it is possible that some of those mentioned were the camps raised on his return. To be brief, however, it seems not improbable that Agricola had found it necessary to divide his forces, in traversing a country exceedingly barren of supplies, and that in consequence he directed their advance by the two separate routes already alluded to.

The right hand column, crossing the shire of Roxburgh, may be therefore supposed to have proceeded by the vale of the Leader, towards the level districts on the Forth, now forming part of the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling; while the opposite division approached, perhaps, the same point along the plain of Annandale, and the valley of the Clyde. On the first of these tracks, only one encampment has been discovered, which can properly be ascribed to Agricola; on the latter three; all of them about the same size, and very similar in form; in this respect differing considerably from any other field-works of the Romans, which have been traced in those districts of the country. The first is situated at Channel-Kirk, in the north-west corner of Berwickshire; the others in succession on Torwood moor, near Lockerby, at Tassiesholm, not far from Moffat, and at Cleghorn, in the vicinity of Carstairs. These must form, however, but the limits of a broken chain for estimating the march of the Romans, through an uncleared country, at the rate of fourteen miles a-day;<sup>a</sup> it is certain that the two divisions of this force must have entrenched themselves at several other places, along their line of march into the interior of Scotland. Besides the camps now mentioned, some others

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 61. The usual military pace was 20 miles in 5 hours, and this formed a day's march on *good roads*; Duncan's Int. to Caesar, p. 153.

equally large have been discovered in the same districts; but they differ very much in construction from those ascribed to Agricola, and to all appearance are the works of a later period; when as great a change had crept into the field arrangements of the Romans, as into the efficiency of their ancestral discipline.

The column which marched by Annandale must necessarily have found its motions greatly confined, until it *debouched* from the mountain passes south of Biggar. While the other division, crossing a more open country, and tempted perhaps by the promising aspect of the Lowlands on the Tweed, may have frequently sent out exploratory parties to survey the country, or to communicate with the fleet, which, it is supposed, at this time accompanied along our eastern shores the march of the land forces.<sup>a</sup> But on neither side could the retreats of the North British Tribes be penetrated, without much labour on the part of their invaders. Besides having to struggle with the natural obstacles of the country, they had likewise to encounter all the rigours of a very stormy season.<sup>b</sup> To accomplish, therefore, even fourteen miles<sup>c</sup> in one day's march, may often have been a work of severe labour, when, as must have been the case, the hatchet of the pioneer was so frequently in requisition, to open a passage through the forest, or to form a practicable road-way over the spreading morass. Those defences—which nature, their *Bona Dea*—

————— “raised to shield  
A rude, unlettered people, all her own;”

were, however, the only obstructions which impeded the progress of the legions. The natives, taken, it is probable, by surprise, were struck by a general panic; and for some time at least they seem neither to have attempted the reprisals of a desultory resistance, nor to have had the daring to hazard a battle. In the meantime Agricola continued to advance; securing the country, as he went along, by erecting numerous forts, in which he placed garrisons, provided in case of necessity to support a protracted siege. The vestiges of many such intrenched stations, or *castra stativa* of the smaller class, still exist; all of them being exceedingly well situated, in a military point

<sup>a</sup> The fact of a Roman fleet having been for some length of time on this coast, may be surmised from the words of Tacitus, when describing the particulars of the expedition into Fife. —Vit. Agric. c. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. Agric.

<sup>c</sup> The Roman mile was shorter than what the British is by about one in thirteen.

of view. For some account of these, as well as of other kindred remains, the reader is referred to a subsequent part of the volume.

Agricola, without doubt, extended his conquests this year <sup>a</sup> as far as the Forth, and it is even probable that some of his detached parties may, during the same season, have pushed forward to the Tay;<sup>b</sup> if to that river may be applied the words of his biographer, "*usque ad Tæm, æstuario nomen est.*" Having penetrated thus far into the country, and made himself acquainted with the districts extending westward to the Clyde, and the neck of land dividing that river from the Forth, the practised eye of the Roman leader could not fail to be struck with the advantages presented by the isthmus in his front, as the base of another line of defence, similar to that which he had the year before established across the country of the Brigantes, farther to the south. Here, then, he saw proper to set a temporary limit to the advancement of his schemes; and returned it is believed to England, with a portion of his troops, leaving the remainder to execute, in his absence, the various military works which his genius had designed.

The invaded Britons, who had fled on the approach of the legions, recovered, as they passed, sufficient courage to assail the forts, which were now left in the rear; but the ill-directed efforts of a comparatively undisciplined people were employed in vain against the strong entrenchments and the well-concerted resistance of the Roman detachments. Disappointed, therefore, in those attempts, and expecting perhaps that the enemy would abandon their territories on the approach of winter, the inhabitants would seem to have retired to the mountains, or to the deepest recesses of the forest; compelled to witness, at a distance, the operations of an aggressor whose assumption of the rights of conquest they were unable to oppose.

During the following year<sup>c</sup> Agricola seems to have remained in the southern part of the Island; while his forces quartered to the north were employed in completing those *prætenturæ*, or detached forts, which, some sixty years after-

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 80.

<sup>b</sup> It appears surprising that Mr. Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," should have applied the *Tæm* of Tacitus to the Solway; and adopted the belief that the army of Agricola wintered in the north of England at the end of their third campaign; for the Roman historian expressly mentions that the business of the fourth summer was to secure the country *previously* overrun, by fortifying the neck of land which lies between the waters of the "Glotta and Bodotria"—undeniably, the Clyde and Forth—V. Tacit. Agric. c. 23—and Chalm. Caled. vol. I. chap. 3.

<sup>c</sup> A. D. 81.

wards, were united by means of a wall, under the superintendence of Lollius Urbicus, the Legate of Antoninus Pius. From about Old Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, these fortresses extended eastward, at intervals of from two to three miles, till they reached the shores of Forth, in the neighbourhood of Borrowstoness. For a considerable part of the line a great morass lay in front, and on the opposite heights of the continuous valley which there divides the Island, the Caledonians could, if they chose, assemble in safety, to witness the novel inroad thus effected on the ancient repose of the district. Reclining on the distant hill-side, the ejected owner of the soil might, like the Indian of the Ohio, love to linger near the scenes which were the birth-place of his children; and, wrapped in gloomy attention, he may have often listened to the sound of the Roman axe, as it rung in the distance, while employed to clear the forest around the stations, to open a passage for the military way, or to shape the pointed stakes which were destined to crown the rising walls of the stations. In after-times, the natives appear to have established a regular line of observation in this quarter, by the erection of a series of circular posts; the vestiges of many of which can still be traced, from the Kilpatrick hills to the banks of the Carron.<sup>a</sup>

From some of their frontier garrisons, the Roman soldiery could overlook a wide extent of country. A party, for instance, stationed on the Bar Hill, opposite to Kilsyth, might embrace at one view the whole extent of the Isthmus, with the rivers bounding it on either side; while, from various points of the line, the eye could rest on the distant summits of the Grampians—destined to be acknowledged by imperial Rome as the limits of her conquests, and likewise, in her opinion, as those of the habitable world. Towards these mountains many of the inhabitants had in all likelihood retired, to solicit assistance from the tribes beyond the Forth. This could not but be known to their invaders, who must have looked with no little interest to their “cloud capped” peaks, as the barriers of an unknown land, where fresh dangers were to be encountered, and new distinctions won.

According to the very brief narrative of Tacitus, Agricola, in the fifth summer of his command,<sup>b</sup> made an expedition by sea. “He embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the estuary, and, having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engage-

<sup>a</sup> *V. Ut seq.* “Wall of Antoninus Pius.”

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 82.

ments, and lined the coast which lies opposite to Ireland with a body of troops.”<sup>a</sup> Some authors have understood this passage to mean, that the Roman general took shipping on the Clyde, descending thence upon Knapdale and Cantire; but the more generally received, and certainly most plausible opinion, is, that the scene of his transactions lay this year in the counties of Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and Ayr. The question of how he got there has not, however, been a settled point with those who otherwise agree on the details of his operations: for while some imagine that the estuary which he crossed was that of the Clyde, and that he thence marched inland to the south-west; others have maintained that his passage was more probably over the Solway Firth, from the shores of which he invaded, it is thought, the districts of Galloway and Carrick.<sup>b</sup>

When Agricola entered North Britain, two years before, he had left this track of country unexplored; it therefore now became, in an important degree, necessary that he should endeavour to establish some check on its inhabitants, before he ventured to lead his army beyond the Forth. On that account nothing seems more probable than that his attention should have been directed to this quarter; and that, after having spent the preceding winter in England, he, in the spring of the year 82, assembled a powerful array of troops, with which to increase his army in the north for active service, and landed at their head in some of the bays of Galloway; accompanied in his enterprise by a Roman fleet, which then for the first time appeared on the waters of the Solway. Had he, on the contrary, first rejoined the forces stationed on the isthmus, and thence advanced into Ayrshire, it is difficult to understand why he should have taken the trouble to provide vessels for the expedition—for commanding, as he did, the right bank of the Clyde, he could have experienced no great difficulty in crossing that river, and traversing the comparatively level county of Renfrew, towards the coast which “lay opposite to Ireland.” He may indeed have sailed down the Clyde, and thus effected his object; but this could scarcely be called “crossing” an estuary;<sup>c</sup> and as

<sup>a</sup> We quote from Murphy’s Translation.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, p. 43—Roy, p. 81—Gordon Itin. p. 35—Chalmers, V. I. p. 104.

<sup>c</sup> The words of Tacitus are, “Quinto expeditionum anno, nave primâ transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simulac prosperis præliis domuit,” &c. c. 24.



to his having ever troubled the natives of Cantire, the scepticism of General Roy seems very excusable indeed.<sup>a</sup>

If, however, we adopt the supposition that Agricola embarked from Cumberland, and landed, as has been supposed, near the mouth of the Lochar in Dumfriesshire,<sup>b</sup> we shall have him in the territories of the Selgovæ; a warlike people, who may perhaps have acquired much of their ardent character from the nature of their country, for the most part exceedingly rugged, and widely intersected by lakes and rivers. Marching inland from their point of debarkation, the Roman troops must have, in the first instance, forced their way through the forests which covered what is now the Lochar-moss; and having crossed the Nith not far from Dumfries, they advanced, in all probability, on a south-westerly course, as far as the modern town of Wigton.<sup>c</sup> Hitherto the progress of Agricola through Scotland had been without opposition: but, unlike their fellow-countrymen to the eastward, the ancient inhabitants of Galloway seem to have "girt them" for the fight; and to them is due the honour of having first ventured to meet the Roman legions in battle. In the midst of defeat they frequently renewed the struggle for independence; and, when no longer able to face the heavy-armed cohorts in the field, they retired to the high lands, within the recesses of the forest, and fortified themselves upon their summits against the enemy's approach. So much we may gather, at least, from the page of the historian, and from an antiquarian survey of the district possessed by the warriors of the Selgovæ. From the Nith to the Dee, along the southern part of Kirkeudbrightshire, on almost every hill-top adapted for a defensive position, the remains of British Hill Forts have been observed. And what strongly confirms the opinion that a Roman army had in that quarter been opposed by the natives, is that, in close proximity to many of those British strongholds, the distinct traces of Roman camps may be perceived, apparently raised as checks on the native garrisons; as if their invaders, finding them too strongly posted for assault, had been obliged to entrench themselves in their neighbourhood, for the purpose of watching their movements, or with the intention of reducing them by famine.<sup>d</sup> It cannot, indeed, be distinctly proved that these encamp-

<sup>a</sup> Milit. Antiquities.

<sup>b</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 104.

<sup>c</sup> Do. do. 105.

<sup>d</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 106. The camps of the Britons were oval or round—those of the Romans oblong or square.

ments had been occupied by the troops of Agricola, yet many circumstances favour the supposition that such was actually the case. Before his recall from the government of Britain, that able commander had, undoubtedly, made himself master of all that part of the country which is situated to the southward of the Forth and Clyde; how otherwise could he have thought of invading Ireland,<sup>a</sup> or have carried the bulk of his army to the base of the Grampian Hills? And as Tacitus informs us that much fighting occurred before he occupied the coasts of the Irish Channel, what can be more likely than that the district of Galloway was the scene of the Roman march on their fifth expedition, and that those curiously placed camps we have just referred to should, in many instances, have been the consequences of its occurrence, and the witnesses of the succeeding strife?

As was to be expected, the gallant resistance of the Selgovæ availed them nothing—the trained Velites<sup>b</sup> were equal adepts with themselves in bush-fighting—the heavy infantry of the legions superior to all opposition—while hunger assailed them within their walls—till, deprived of every hope, the fortune-deserted Britons were compelled to yield obedience to the Roman power. Beyond the Selgovæ on the west lay the Novantes, a tribe which Agricola must have likewise subdued in this campaign; and when that object was effected, he probably advanced through Ayrshire towards the Clyde, to form a junction with his forces on the isthmus: or, according to another view of the question,<sup>c</sup> he may again have bent his steps to the eastward, descending to the low country by Lanark, and the beautiful valley of the lower Clyde. The fleet which had conveyed him over the Solway—if it be the same we hear of in the following year—must, in the meantime, have returned to the south of England, and have rounded the Land's End, to winter, it is probable, upon the coast of Kent—whither, at all events, we find it retiring for the same purpose on a subsequent occasion.

It is not known whether Agricola left any part of his forces behind him in occupation of the districts he had thus overrun, or whether he compelled the inhabitants to deliver hostages as a guarantee of their submission. In all likelihood he adopted the latter course, anxious to assemble as large an

<sup>a</sup> Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> The *Velites* may be called the Roman skirmishers; they were very lightly armed, used javelins, and wore helmets formed of bear-skin.

<sup>c</sup> Chalm. Calcd. I. 108.

army as possible on his northern frontier, with the intention of leading it to farther conquest, on the advance of the following spring. With this view the chief part of his troops would, perhaps, pass the succeeding winter in the neighbourhood of the Forth, where supplies could easily be obtained by sea; and in which position they were equally well situated to support the garrisons of their northern frontier, as to check any revolt that might occur amongst the tribes subjugated during the two preceding campaigns. Safe in his winter camp at Camelon or Cramond, the Ligurian soldier might, if so disposed, have looked out on the Caledonian snows with pardonable pride—his sword had proved the great arbiter of his claims, and the destinies of the barbarian world seemed to repose entirely in his hands. Wherever he appeared, the enemy had fled before him, or made a stand in vain: the difficulties of a wild country had been firmly overcome; the rigours of its climate opposed with success: he was now, as he believed, upon the verge of the habitable world. What more had been accomplished on the Rhine or Danube?—what worthier services had the veterans of Cæsar done? Nor is it at all unlikely that the spirit of self-gratulation prevailed, to a considerable extent, amongst the followers of Agricola, as we find them in the following summer boasting, with very little reason, of their superior prowess.

When the advancing spring of the year 83 enabled him again to take the field, the Roman general prepared to explore the country beyond the Forth. Whatever observations he may have had in his power to make on the districts more immediately before him, as far perhaps as Stirling, or even Ardoch in Strathallan, he could, in general, have but an imperfect knowledge either of the unexplored region he was about to enter, or of the number or character of its inhabitants. He appears, however, to have fully prepared himself against whatever resistance might be opposed to his designs, and to have so concerted his measures, that all the means at his disposal should be most effectually brought into play. With this view he assembled a fleet in the Firth of Forth, to act in unison with the land forces, and by its assistance transported his army into Fife. Such is believed, at least, to have been the opening of his sixth campaign, and we have every reason to suppose that this was the actual course of procedure which Agricola followed.\* Supposing,

\* Tacit. Agric. c. 25, Chalm. Caled. I. 109, and Roy, 82.—Sir R. Sibbald supposes the landing of the Romans on this occasion to have taken place about Kinghorn. "Portus, Colon." &c. p. 2.

with Sir R. Sibbald, that the Roman troops crossed at Queensferry, they must have turned to the right, and advanced, in the first instance, along the coast; for Tacitus reports that the fleet advanced for some time in sight of the army, and that the soldiery and marines frequently met in the same camp—glorying to recount among themselves their several tales of peril and adventure. This statement leads us to infer that Agricola kept his ships in immediate communication with himself, until his scouts had examined the interior, and enabled him to decide both in respect to his own motions and as to the duties on which the services of the fleet could be best employed.

By this time the Caledonian tribes—aroused to a sense of their danger—had been wise enough to drop the animosities which interfered with their joint assemblage in arms; and Agricola had now reason to believe that a general confederacy of the natives was forming against him. As soon, therefore, as he became satisfied of this, and that his other arrangements were complete, he ordered his ships to proceed round the coast of Fife, to survey the sea-board of the country, and to co-operate with the movements of the army, which he probably intended to lead forward to the Firth of Tay. From the statements of some luckless Britons who had fallen into their hands, the Romans learned that the appearance of the fleet had reduced the natives to despair: they believed that the sea—their last means of escape—was to be effectually shut against them; and in this extremity, seeing the invading army across the Forth, they made a sudden attempt to surprise the forts erected on the isthmus, but, it may be inferred, without success. The daring character of the attack was sufficient to create much uneasiness among the officers of Agricola, some of whom were, on that account, timorous enough to counsel a return to the southern side of the Firth. This advice did not, however, accord with the intentions of their general, whose spirit was fully alive to the indignity of a retreat. He determined, therefore, to advance; and, learning that the Caledonians had changed their tactics, and were preparing to assail him in force, he appears to have lost no time in pushing forward to meet them.\*

The course of our narrative now enters on very debateable ground; for however well we can trace the progress of succeeding events, the actual scenes of their occurrence have ever been the sources of much conjecture.

\* Tacit. Agric. c.c. 25 and 26.

The attempt to fix the route of Agricola's progress, during the two last of his campaigns, has engaged the attention of many eminent authors, whose opinions have been as various as their erudition was high. But as it is unnecessary to involve the reader in all the speculative windings of the dispute, we propose to confine our remarks to the two principal theories on which the question may be said to rest.

The first of these assumes that only a part of the Roman forces entered the district of Fife in the summer of the year 83, and that the remainder advanced by Stirling to the moor of Ardoch, at which place it formed an encampment large enough to contain the whole army; the entire force being, soon after, united on that advanced point by the junction of the former division, which had acted, in the first instance, in co-operation with the fleet, and which had afterwards, it is presumed, advanced to Strathearn by the passes of the Ochil hills. In such a view the post at Ardoch became, during this season, their chief *point d'appui*—whence exploratory detachments were perhaps thrown out to occupy some of the most important positions in the surrounding district. According to this arrangement, the camp of the 9th legion (to be afterwards mentioned) is believed to have been situated at a place called Dealgin Ross, not far from the present village of Comrie; while a similar post had been established, it is thought, nearly equi-distant from head-quarters, at Strageth, on the river Earn. Fixing on this ground as the principal scene of its sixth campaign, the same opinions carry the Roman army, in course of the following summer, along the base of the Grampian range towards the Tay, about Scone, and thence, through the counties of Forfar and Kincardine, into the neighbourhood of Stonehaven, where the high lands approach the sea, and near to which place, it is conjectured, that decisive battle was fought, to the records of which we shall, by and bye, have occasion to direct the reader's attention.\* In an opposite point of view it has been argued that Agricola did not, on any occasion, pass the Tay, but spent the whole summer of the year 83 in subduing the inhabitants of Fife, and in securing his hold upon that district by the construction of roads and the establishment of fortified stations—and that in the following year he did not penetrate much farther than the

\* Roy's Milit. Antiquities, p. 82, &c. whose views are partly supported by Lord Buchan, and, with considerable hesitation, by Gen. Melville.—Gough's Camden, III. 416.

valley of the Earn—encountering the Caledonian army in the vicinity of Ardoch.\*

General Roy, in support of his opinion that the Roman forces had actually advanced into Kincardine, was at great pains to survey the country through which he conjectured they must have marched; and he succeeded in discovering a series of encampments, placed in general at regular distances from each other, and corresponding so much in size and appearance, as to leave no doubt of the fact that a large body of Roman troops had, at some period or other, passed onward in that direction. But we have no evidence to prove that the camps in question were formed by the legions of Agricola; and they may, with equal probability, be ascribed to the soldiers of Lollius Urbicus, or to a part of that immense array of men which the Emperor Severus led, at a subsequent period, into the north of Scotland. On the existence of those entrenchments the arguments of General Roy are chiefly founded. He supports his opinions with great military acumen, and combats some opposing theories with considerable force; still it cannot be denied that the second view of the question carries with it a large share of probability; and, when the many other points in dispute are found to weigh pretty equally in the balance, it may not be improper to inquire which course appears the most likely to have been adopted. Looking, for instance, to General Roy's arrangement of his seventh year's expedition, we are at a loss to understand why the Roman commander should have subjected his troops to a march from the Ochil hills to the shores of the North Sea; when, by so doing, he must either have greatly weakened his disposable force, by establishing a series of forts upon his route, or have left a large track of country in his rear invitingly open to the inroads of the Caledonians: who, from their fastnesses among the mountains of Strathearn, might sweep down to harass his garrisons at Ardoch and elsewhere—necessarily left unsupported at so great a distance from the main army. A couple of years before, this might have been a matter of no consideration: but now, when he was aware that a general league had been formed against him, and that the entire strength of the Northern Tribes was collected in his vicinity, it seems difficult to determine on what grounds Agricola should have abandoned his surest base of operations in Strathallan, to force his way for nearly a hundred miles to the north-east, through a country

\* Chalm. Caled. I. 112—Gordon's Itin. 40, who fixes the site of the battle at Comrie.

to him totally unknown, with the certainty that his every motion was watched by an enemy whose daring courage he had already found reason to respect. It cannot be supposed that he adopted this measure with the design of forcing the Caledonians to give him battle; for, if he found them desirous of avoiding an engagement, he must have been well aware, that, with the great forest of Caledonia behind them, they could easily retire much farther than it was in his power to follow. Instead, therefore, of making an advance in pursuit of the enemy, it seems more probable that the desire of bringing them to action would induce the Roman general to feign a timorous or inactive course, so as to draw the native forces about him, and place them in a position favourable for the decisive blow which it was his intention to strike. Some have supposed that the Roman fleet acted in concert with the army during this campaign, and on that account entertain the idea that Agricola marched to the coast of Forfar. Tacitus mentions, indeed, that the fleet was sent forward early in the season to "annoy the coasts;"<sup>a</sup> but he nowhere leads us to suppose that at that time it ever co-operated directly with the land forces. Could it with certainty be said in what district the British tribe of the "Horestii" should be placed, much of the difficulty that invests the subject would be avoided, as the reader will afterwards observe; but, owing to certain doubts entertained by our antiquarian geographers—some placing them in Forfar, and others in Fife—we cannot refer to their position as a sufficient authority on the subject.<sup>b</sup> Agricola may have fought at Stonehaven, or he may not: with the little light we possess, it would be presumptuous to attempt to decide the question; regarding it, however, as a matter of opinion, founded on what appears a well-supported view of the subject, we incline to the belief that he never did advance beyond the Tay—the reasons will appear as we proceed—and on this supposition we return to the south coast of Fife, where, it is taken for granted, his entire force was assembled—his fleet having just left, to proceed forward on its exploratory voyage.

When Agricola learned that a general onset of the native tribes was to be expected, he divided his army, and advanced in three columns; adopting this course in order to divert the attention of the enemy, and to avoid being sur-

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Agric. c. 29.

<sup>b</sup> Roy places this tribe on the north side of the Tay, although in Richard of Cirencester's Map we find them between the "Tavus" and "Bodotria." Chalmers settles them in Fife.

rounded by their superior numbers.<sup>a</sup> These several divisions appear to have marched at the distance of from eight to ten miles apart—one of them consisting of the 9th legion, then the weakest of the Roman army.<sup>b</sup> In course of the general advance, this body of troops had been obliged to encamp on unfavourable ground, environed by woods and marshes; when, in the dead of night, a sudden attack was made on its position. The advanced guard was surprised, the sentinels were put to the sword; and, before the soldiery had time to recover from the panic of the moment, the shouts of the infuriated Britons were heard within the walls of the camp. But, even in such unlooked-for circumstances, the self-possession of the *Legio Nona Victrix* rose superior to the terrors of impending ruin. Animated by the *prestige* of a victorious name, or nerved by the certain knowledge that defeat was death, it met this fiery onset with unflinching courage, and a long and bloody contest raged within the entrenchments.

Agricola had, in the meantime, been informed that the natives were in motion; and, suspecting their intentions, he had hastened forward with his own division to support the threatened column. As he drew near the scene of conflict, he became instantly aware that not a moment was to be lost. He accordingly ordered his light infantry, and the swiftest of his horse, to make a detour, and to assail the enemy in their rear; while, with the remainder of his forces, he hastened forward in person to relieve the camp. His arrival occurred about day-break, and the combat was still raging in all its fury, when the welcome shouts of their approaching comrades were heard, and the sight of his standards caught the eyes of the beleagured cohorts. The legion engaged with the assailants had, no doubt, been very hardly pressed, nor was it till the presence of advancing succour had re-animated their flagging spirits, that the Roman soldiers were able to do more than maintain a defensive position. The Caledonians, on this occasion, fought with the greatest ardour and determination, and even when the reinforcements of the commander-in-chief had joined, they were slow to abandon the contest; and, for some time after, the battle continued to be maintained in the very gateways of the camp. Finding themselves, however, attacked on all sides, the Britons at length gave

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Agric. c. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Owing, most probably, to the heavy losses which it sustained in the war with Boadicea. Tacit. Annal. Lib. XIV. c. 32.



way, and sought shelter among the thickets and morasses which abounded in the neighbourhood.<sup>a</sup>

The locality of this daring assault has, as previously mentioned, been sought for by some authors on the banks of the river Earn, in the vicinity of Comrie; but if we are to suppose the districts of Fife and Kinross to have been the scene of Agricola's operations during the sixth year of his command, we must certainly look to the southward of the Ochil hills for the position occupied by the ninth legion on the occasion referred to. Throughout the few sections of his work in which the Roman historian alludes to the incidents of this campaign, we meet with several particulars which give weight to the conjecture that the forces of Agricola were, at that period, employed in a country immediately adjoining to the sea, and that they were indeed frequently quartered upon the very coast. We find it stated, for instance, that on many occasions the fleet and the army were enabled to act in concert—that the soldiery and marines were often encamped together, and that it was owing to the presence of the vessels of war, which seemed to banish every prospect of escape, that the natives were roused to attempt the desperate hazard of assailing the Roman camps. All this is adverse to the idea of an inland field of operation; and if we add to those details, that, after the attack on the ninth legion, the mass of the Roman forces demanded to be led into the *interior* of the country; while shortly before, some of his officers had anxiously recommended that Agricola should, for security, recross the Forth<sup>b</sup>—we cannot but think that the peninsula of Fife may be justly regarded as having been the principal scene of his transactions at this period of his command. It is by no means probable that the Roman army was at that time so divided as to be able to act on two separate points, widely distant from each other; or even that, when united, it would be pushed rashly forward into the remote and difficult recesses of the country: for it must be remembered that the whole tribes of the north were then in alliance to oppose the progress of the invaders; and it may therefore very properly be inferred that, under such circumstances, the advance of the Roman forces would, more than ever, be conducted with caution. The words of his biographer would seem indeed to imply, that the march of Agricola was on this occasion a very guarded one. He was careful, no doubt, to drive the enemy from the coverts

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Agric. c. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Vit. Agric. c.c. 25, 26.

around him, and to establish fortified posts as he went along.<sup>a</sup> All this required considerable time; and taking into account what must have been the limited duration of a Caledonian summer, it is probable that the Romans had, during its continuance, quite sufficient to engage their attention in making good the positions they held to the south of the Ochils; although it is possible enough that some of their advanced parties did that season penetrate as far as the valley of the Earn—the first, perhaps, to break ground at Ardoch, and to commence the works of the important station which was eventually constructed there.

On a general view of the question, and in accordance with the opinions of many others, we are inclined to believe that the attack on the ninth legion occurred in the neighbourhood of Lochore, two miles to the southward of Lochleven, in the county of Fife—and that in the remains of an ancient encampment, existing some years ago in that locality, were to be seen the last traces of the *valla* which had been defended against the night assault of the Caledonian Britons.<sup>b</sup> The thickets which afforded shelter to their retiring parties are no more; but a large morass still exists in the vicinity, in which many remains of an ancient forest have been discovered.

While the Roman soldiery gave way to the most triumphant feelings—somewhat unreasonably elated with the result of a conflict so bravely maintained on the part of a hitherto despised enemy, and so long doubtful as to the issue—their general became aware that it might yet prove a difficult task to subdue the “barbarian” energies of our island tribes. It does not appear that he again came into contact with them during this season; but he learned, before retiring into winter quarters, that the natives had resolved to keep the field; and that, by solemn rites and sacrifices, they had confirmed their league to oppose his future progress. As his biographer makes no mention of Agricola’s having, at the end of this campaign, withdrawn any part of his army from beyond the Forth, we may perhaps conclude that the troops he led thither in summer, remained during the following winter in and about the counties of Fife and Kinross—occupying those stations, erected on their advance, many of the traces of which are still to be perceived.

During the several months of inaction which the inclemency of winter com-

<sup>a</sup> Tacitus refers to *many* Roman forts and castles which were attacked by the natives during the sixth expedition of Agricola—Vit. Agric. c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. 110 and 168.

pelled the Romans to pass, we may imagine the Caledonians to have been employed in adding to their resources, and in preparing for the great struggle which they had resolved to hazard in defence of their ancient freedom. On the part of Agricola, no opportunity was likely to be lost of becoming acquainted with the resources and intentions of his opponents; and it may easily be conceived that he now anxiously longed for the opportunity of engaging the allied tribes in one decisive encounter, confident of success, and hoping, by a single blow, to put a period to all future resistance. It was probably, therefore, with much satisfaction that, on the opening of the next campaign, A. D. 84, he learned that the entire force of the Caledonian tribes was assembling, with the design of meeting him in the field. He accordingly put his army in motion, and, having despatched his ships to annoy the sea-coasts, marched forward with his troops towards the Grampian mountains, in the vicinity of which he ascertained that the enemy already awaited his coming.

The site of the British position, and of the events which followed the advance of Agricola, have, equally with the localities of his other transactions, engaged the minute attention of our national antiquaries. Besides three different spots in the shire of Kincardine—the vestiges of Roman camps in the parish of Monzie, at Comrie, and at Ardoch, all in the county of Perth—have been severally pointed to as the probable scenes of the far-famed encounter, which took place 1760 years ago, between the ancient Highlanders of Scotland and the well-supported Teutonic cohorts who fought, on that occasion, in the pay of Rome.

Could we by any means confirm the opinion that the land forces of the Romans had, at so early a period, pushed their discoveries to the coast of Kincardine, it would not be difficult to find beyond the Tay many a suitable locality for the display of those manœuvres with which the narrative of the historian has invested the progress of the battle. But if the probability of so advanced a movement be considered doubtful, we must necessarily look to a nearer point for the scene of the last and crowning exploit of Agricola's "warrior days." With this view, and to avoid troubling the reader to follow the current of numerous conflicting opinions—advanced, in some instances, on no very probable grounds—we shall confine our attention to the two principal localities to the westward of the Tay; on one or other of which the question may, in some measure, be said to rest.

The first of these is situated at a short distance from the village of Comrie, at the junction of a small stream called the Ruchil with the river Earn, where may be seen the vestiges of two Roman camps of unequal size. The general features of the ground have appeared to some authors to be extremely well adapted for the scene of such an engagement as Tacitus describes; and at this spot not only have many ancient weapons been discovered, but the names applied, in the present day, to several of the surrounding localities, would seem to distinguish it as having been the scene of some important event, of which the history is for ever lost, and even all tradition gone. But, notwithstanding those circumstances, there must arise many doubts, on examining the place, as to the fact of its having been the battle-field of the day referred to. The camps, to all appearance, are evidently much too small to contain the army which Agricola then commanded<sup>a</sup>—the plain in front too confined for the manœuvres described—especially for such movements in flank as were attempted on either side; and, above all, we have here two streams intersecting the ground, of which no mention is made by Tacitus. One of these, in particular, would have been of such consequence in regulating the different plans of attack, that, had it been on this field the hostile armies met, we are inclined to think its existence would have been taken notice of in his description of the scene.

The other locality demanding our attention forms a portion of that irregular plain, which stretches from the Roman fort at Ardoch towards the base of the hills lying westward of Muthill. Along this moorish track, and on the rising ground above it, have likewise been discovered many such remains of antiquity as speak to us, in their silent language, of the "shadowy past." We may, in particular, mention two cairns of gigantic size, evidently the memorials of some important occurrence—perhaps the vast monuments of the Caledonian people to the memory of their ten thousand slain. Here, too, are the remains of military entrenchments and other field-works; while the nature of the ground appears also to be well fitted for the most prominent manœuvres of that bloody day. On the whole, therefore, we cannot but incline to the opinion which suggests the moor of Ardoch as the most probable locality of the battle. Supposing the Roman general to have had an ad-

<sup>a</sup> Supposed to have numbered about 20,000 men.—See the following chapter, Section II. "Temporary Camps."

vanced post at Ardoch, which had been maintained during the winter; it may with every probability be assumed, that, when the allied tribes prepared to take the field in force, their place of rendezvous would be fixed at no great distance from that stronghold—either with the design of attempting to carry it by storm, as a master-stroke of good omen to the future campaign, or in the persuasion that towards it the march of the Roman legions would in the first place be directed, when they left their winter quarters, to the south of the Ochils: or, allowing that the whole of Strathallan was still free from the presence of any hostile garrison, the Caledonians might, nevertheless, have thought it proper to assemble their forces at a point whence they could observe the approach of the Romans, as, from their stations in Fife, they descended by the defiles of the intervening hills upon the plains of the Earn. While devoting a moment's attention to those views, it must be borne in mind that the banded natives had no desire to avoid their enemy's approach, but were resolved to abide, at all risks, the chances of a battle; when, therefore, Agricola learned, after having put his army in motion, that the Caledonians were assembled at the base of the vast chain of mountains which bounded the plains in his front, he would, undoubtedly, hasten to approach them, and to place himself in such a position as might induce them to await his attack. Should he have had a post at Ardoch which was threatened by their advance, he would naturally, in the first instance, push forward to its relief; and if it so happened that no station was yet in existence there, he might possibly advance to that spot, as being at a convenient distance from the Caledonian army, and there encamp.

It is well known that the number of men composing a Roman legion varied considerably at different periods. In the time of Polybius (born B.C. 203) it comprised a body of 4200; but under the Emperors its numerical force was considerably increased; in the reign of Domitian we may estimate the infantry of a legion at about 5000 or 6000 Roman citizens, with nearly the same number of auxiliaries, and the cavalry of both classes at about 900.\* When Agricola began his engagement with the Caledonians, his auxiliary infantry amounted, we are told, to about 8000. By adding to this an equal number of Romans, we have in all a force of 16,000 foot. On his wings were stationed cavalry to the number of 3000; so that it appears the army

\* See Roy, p. 37, and Horsley, p. 5.

led by Agricola on this expedition consisted of about 20,000 men. Now, in the immediate vicinity of the permanent station at Ardoch, are the remains of three temporary camps; the largest of which, and the one evidently of oldest date, is capable of containing, on the system of military arrangement described by Polybius, a force of more than 20,000 strong—it might have held even 25,000.\* It is described as being the most ancient, because the walls of the other two cut through its ramparts, and have manifestly been raised to accommodate a smaller army at a more recent period.

The Caledonians, aware of the enemy's approach, had, in the meantime, taken post on the heights which begin to ascend from the north-west corner of Ardoch moor, at the distance of between five and six miles from the Roman entrenchments—a trifling mossy streamlet and some marshy ground alone intervening between the rival forces. On those rising grounds we venture to place the 30,000 Britons, who, burning with ardour to avenge their previous defeats, were now assembled to dare all they could adventure in defence of their freedom as a people, and for the maintenance of their threatened faith. Let us pause for a moment to contemplate, as it were, the scene presented by this assemblage of the half-savage tribes of old, with whom, should all other features of resemblance have disappeared, one proud and firm link connects, at this hour, the hardy peasant of our Scottish valleys. Need we add, that it breathes in that kindred spirit which dwells, and has ever dwelt, in the love of their country and of its national freedom? The flower of the warriors have hastened from every quarter of the north at the bidding of their chiefs—the youth, so lately the unregarded pursuer of the forest chase, now mingles in the ranks—the hoary veteran, who had long “hung up” his sword, has again taken it from the wall, and strides forth into the front of the battle. All, amongst this immense throng, pass to and fro, restless and animated; and, if it be permitted to draw so far on the imagination, we may listen, in idea, to the incessant hum which ascends from those heights, especially as the first signal is given that the enemy are leaving their camp. At this, the confusion of sounds—the notes of warlike preparation which proceeded from the mingled mass—die suddenly away—the edge of the sword has been finally sharpened—the strength of the battle-axe has been tested—the bow is bent—and the spirited steeds are harnessed to the

\* See chap. IV. Sec. 2, “Temporary Camps,”

chariot. Gradually the crowd assumes a form of order; and, anon, we behold the striking array of the native warriors, no longer a disordered mass, but stretching in well-formed columns from side to side, and standing in ominous silence amid the waving heath. We may also figure to ourselves a number of their ghostly advisers to be still lingering amongst the ranks, moving in the full costume of their order—raising their white wands to heaven, and thundering its maledictions on the head of the coward who flees, or foretelling the glories of heaven to the souls which depart in the battle. They point, perhaps, to the high grounds in the rear, where the wives and children of the Britons have assembled to witness the anticipated destruction of their invaders; and, both for the sake of this and of a future world, the excited Druid calls on the highest and the meanest present—to be victorious or die.

Some authors have contended that this engagement must have occurred immediately in front of Agricola's camp—wherever that may have been—resting their opinion on the words of his biographer, whose expression, "*legiones pro vallo stetere*," ought, on their part it is averred, to be understood to mean, that the legions were stationed in the immediate front of the entrenchments. Others deny that this must be imperatively assumed as the actual signification of the term; for, according to their opinion, the words *pro vallo* may with equal propriety be used to convey the idea that the troops were drawn up—figuratively speaking—as, or in place of, a wall; which the legions, *par excellence*, i.e. the Roman portion of them, certainly were, as will be seen in the context. Perhaps, however, we have here too fanciful a strain on the peculiar words of the historian, according to what may be regarded as the most probable arrangements of the day.

Agricola, finding that the Caledonian forces were assembled within six miles of his camp, determined to advance against them. Leading his forces, therefore, across the intervening moor, he arrived in front of the enemy's position; and, finding them resolved to await his attack, he at once formed his order of battle on a base parallel with theirs; having a considerable breadth of irregular ground extending between him and the hills they occupied. His army appears to have been drawn up in two lines; the first consisting of 8000 auxiliary infantry, supported on the wings by 3000 horse—the second embracing the *élite* of his force, the Roman citizens, who formed a *corps de reserve*; behind which, in case of disaster, the auxiliaries might retire—and, as the honour of a

victory was enhanced if achieved without the shedding of Roman blood, this rear-line was ordered to remain entirely inactive, unless its services should be imperatively called for.\*

The Caledonians occupied in regular order their commanding position on the hills. Their first line alone stood at the bottom of the ascent; the remainder, rising above each other in regular gradation, stretched to a considerable distance along the front of the heights; and were extended to an imprudent length, in order either to exhibit their numbers to the greatest advantage, or to outflank the smaller array of their invaders.

Immediately previous to the commencement of the action, and while Agricola was, we may suppose, engaged in his final arrangements, the British chariots dashed forward into the intervening plain, and, accompanied by their mounted warriors, drove along at furious speed between the two armies, careering, according to their usual custom, over the field in all directions; and by shouts of defiance, amid noise and tumult, rousing their ardour to a pitch of frenzy: while the Roman general, fearing the enemy might attempt to outflank his wings and attack his rear, ordered his lines to be extended, to prevent the possibility of such an occurrence.

On the moor to the north, near a place now called Keir, have been discovered the vestiges of an immense ditch, which was at one time traceable to the distance of two miles. Although many authors have remarked the existence of this *fossé*, we cannot discover that any one has suggested a reason for a work of the kind having been formed at this spot, or for what purpose it could have been intended. We are not informed at what period of the day the battle commenced, nor how long the Roman army may have been occupied in securing itself in a proper position, before the orders were given to begin the attack; but it seems not improbable that Agricola—aware of the danger to be apprehended from an onset of the armed chariots, especially when obliged to enfeeble his means of resistance by extending his ranks—gave directions that a trench should be dug along the weakest part of his position, deep enough to check effectually the advance of the enemy's cars, and still be no impediment to the forward movement of his own troops, who might easily clear it at the word of command. With such a barrier in his front, he might be fully enabled to elongate his ranks, so as to form a line equal in

\* Tacit. Agric. c. 35.



length to that of the superior numbers which were opposed to him. Without something of the kind, it is difficult to conjecture how he would venture to spread out his columns before such dangerous foes as the Caledonian charioteers, whose victory might be considered certain, if they once succeeded in piercing his line of battle. If this opinion be acceded to, it may go far to fix the scene of the battle upon the site in question.

At first, we are told, the action was maintained from a distance—the Britons in the front (we may imagine) covering themselves with their diminutive targets from the missile weapons of the Romans, while their rear ranks “discharged thick volleys of their own.” But this mode of conducting the fight did not prove satisfactory to Agricola, who, anxious to decide, at one blow, the fortune of the day, commanded that five cohorts, composed of about 3000 men of the Batavian and Tungrian auxiliaries, should charge the enemy’s position sword in hand. Tacitus says that to this mode of assault the Caledonians could oppose but an ineffectual resistance—their small shields now affording no protection, and their unwieldy swords, not sharpened to a point, being of little service in a close engagement. The Batavians rushed on with fury, striking the bosses of their shields into the faces of their opponents, and, having cleared the plain, began to force their way up the hills in regular order of battle; while the other cohorts, incited by their example, likewise advanced and pressed forward with terrible slaughter. In the meantime, however, the Roman cavalry was forced to give ground, and the Caledonian charioteers drove fiercely towards the quarter where the infantry was engaged. Their first appearance struck terror, but the speed of their onset was checked by the inequality of the ground, and by the close embodied ranks of the Romans: they became, in consequence, intermingled in disorder, and a scene of inextricable confusion followed,—cars without a guide—and horses, their riders gone, dashed madly about—overwhelming the Caledonian files, and trampling down all who came in their way.

By this time some of the native forces, who were yet unassailed on the hills, descended from their position, and attempted to retrieve the fortune of the day by wheeling round the flank of the Romans, with the design of falling upon their rear. They were forced, however, to retire before a body of the cavalry reserve which Agricola detached against them—who, following up their charge, got into the British rear, and fell upon the native ranks with most destructive effect.

On every side, fortune, as was to be expected, declared in favour of the superior discipline and the superior arms of the tried soldiery of Agricola; and, in wild despair, the defeated Caledonians fled before their now insatiate destroyers—leaving behind them a field strewn with all the horrors of carnage—its surface scattered over with mangled bodies and moistened with blood. In many instances, however, although thus panic-struck, the very intensity of their sufferings caused the flying natives to turn on their pursuers; and at times with such effect, that, but for the precautionary measures adopted by its general, the victorious army might have had a heavy account to render for the measure of its success. The pursuit was conducted on the most systematic plan: the light-armed cohorts explored and cleared the woods, while the cavalry entered the passes and scoured the country, wherever it was open. By this means the Britons were finally dispersed, and, abandoning all farther resistance, they sought the distant recesses of their mountains.\* Night put an end to the pursuit—the Romans retiring to exult in their triumph: while, on the other hand, their late opponents were doomed to wander about, helpless and disconsolate; abandoning and burning their habitations in their flight, and in some instances, it is said, putting their wives and children to death, that they might not become the slaves of their invaders. Of the natives, ten thousand are reported to have fallen—of the Romans, only about three hundred and forty.

The following day displayed to the Roman leader the fruits of his triumph: the glitter of action had disappeared, and its stern effects were perceived in all the nakedness of truth. A deep and melancholy silence pervaded the deserted scene, and no sign of animation was visible, save where the fitful smoke rose in the distance from the smouldering ashes of the native huts. The scouts whom he sent out to explore the country, returned to tell him that the whole was a dreary solitude, and that not an enemy was to be seen. Thus ended the mighty effort of the united Caledonian tribes to relieve their country from a foreign yoke; and, to all appearance, their last hope of resistance was for ever gone.

In this engagement the Britons were commanded by Galgacus, a chief

\* The pursuit may probably have continued northwards, in the direction of Comrie, and on the line of the British flight; perhaps where the victory was completed by the defeat of the last section of the natives who attempted to rally, the Romans afterwards founded their town VICTORIA.

worthy, we may suppose, of his exalted position. All that we actually know of him, however, is that he was the man selected by the entire nation as their leader in the mightiest struggle, perhaps, on which they had ever adventured; and we may, in consequence, readily believe that he was a chief of superior courage, and gifted with many of those virtues which would tend to elevate his character in the eyes of a warlike people. In Galgacus we may picture to ourselves the prototype of those lofty and heroic characters, whose deeds were "as music to the souls" of the bards of old—

"Who rushed as a tempest to the battle,  
And raised the shining spear."

No gleam of traditionary story records his fate; but, regarding him as the leading patriot of his age, may we not fondly entertain the thought that he lived not to witness the horrors of the blow which descended on his country; but that he yielded, in the front of battle, "like the pine to the mountain blast, and fell in his sounding arms?"

The summer was now somewhat advanced, and finding that nothing farther of consequence could this year be accomplished, Agricola resolved to put an end to the campaign. He accordingly once more led back his army through those districts which he had subdued the preceding year—proceeding by slow marches at the head of his troops, in order to strike the natives with a display of his resources, and to banish from his retrograde movement all appearance of a forced retreat. On this occasion he compelled the Horestii to deliver hostages as a guarantee of their future obedience; and finally he appears to have entirely evacuated the country beyond the Forth—directing that his forces should winter to the south of that river.

Whilst, in all probability, he prepared for his own return to the more immediate seat of his government in southern Britain, he gave orders that the fleet, then lying in the Firths of Forth or Tay, should proceed on a voyage of discovery to the northward. This enterprise was successfully effected by the Roman navy, which proceeded coastwise as far as the Orkneys, whence it sailed by the western Islands and the British Channel to Richborough in Kent; and again from that port to the Forth—thus, for the first time in the annals of navigation, accomplishing the voyage which determined Britain to be an island. The fact that such an expedition was undertaken during the same year, and after the battle of the Grampians, seems to show that

the engagement occurred when the season was still in its prime, and that the campaign was closed, in reality, at an earlier period than usual; for we cannot well suppose that the fleet would have been exposed to encounter the unknown and proverbially dangerous seas which lashed the "far Orcades," had not the gloom and storm of winter been yet distant: besides, we are led to understand that, before the fall of the year, the fleet had finished its voyage, and was again anchored in the Firth of Forth.

Such of the Roman troops as were destined to remain in North Britain, were now probably distributed throughout the fortresses on and within the isthmus; and with the remainder it is presumed that Agricola retired to the south of the boundary of the Tyne or Humber.

Seven years had now nearly elapsed since to the care of Agricola had been consigned the government of Britain. The silence of history in all that regards his transactions, except when it has to record the tale of his good deeds, or to contribute to his military fame, leads us to believe that his rule in this island was that of an upright and able man, under whose government the natives who yielded obedience to Roman authority were protected from abuse, and taught the value of impartial justice. Although a severe enemy, and stern in the field, he was by no means of a cruel or unrelenting disposition; but while he considered it his duty to compel the aborigines to submit to a foreign yoke, he seems to have everywhere held out to them such inducements to do so as might obviate the necessity of an appeal to arms: but when he could succeed in his object by nothing except force, as was the case throughout the greater part of North Britain, we have seen with what determination and energy he could push forward his measures. Undoubtedly he had done much to elevate the glory of the Roman name, and to extend the limits of the empire—his name was repeated with applause in the senate, and may possibly have been shouted in exultation by the rabble of the imperial city—but it was otherwise in the palace of the Cæsars, and his last act in the service of his country had now been performed.

Numerous were the changes which had occurred in the government of the Roman empire, during the seven years that Agricola held his appointment in Britain. His friend and sovereign Vespasian, who had shown himself not unmindful of the obligations under which he lay to him for an early adherence to his cause, had died in the year 79, whilst the Roman legions were engaged in

subduing the north of England. The confidence reposed in his character by Vespasian was, however, continued by his son and successor Titus, who confirmed Agricola in his command, and, to all appearance, intrusted the conduct of the British war to his uncontrolled direction; but the high expectations which animated the Roman world on the accession of Titus—the hopes that sprung from a confidence in the magnanimity of his disposition—the promise of a glorious reign which threw a halo round his throne—were all doomed to be blasted—annihilated by the same blow that consigned him to the tomb at the early age of forty-one. The regretted Titus died in September, A.D. 81, while the Roman troops were raising their forts between the Forth and Clyde, and was succeeded by his brother Domitian, a subtle and malignant tyrant, in whose disposition were seemingly united the misanthropic cruelty of Tiberius and the degrading vices of Nero.

By Domitian—who fostered the vilest principles of our nature—the practice of virtue was regarded as a crime. To his other defects of character he added that of cowardice; and, in consequence, the display of valour or the attainment of martial renown were sure to awaken his envy, and to direct his hatred against all who happened, by such means, to form a contrast to himself. Nor did this jealous fever burn within him the less intensely because he had the art of concealing its influence under a fair exterior: far from it; the poison once imbibed, became a living principle of his nature; and, when his dislike was aroused, he only waited for a safe opportunity in which to compass the removal of its object—his very want of courage forming an obstacle to any open display of his resentment. It may appear surprising that, under such a possessor of the sovereign power, Agricola was permitted to retain the government of Britain for so long a period as three years. This may, in some measure, be accounted for by considering the little attention paid by Domitian to the affairs of the provinces, until his suspicion was aroused by learning of successes gained, and by finding the tide of popular applause flowing in favour of any particular commander—then was his pride excited—his enmity on the watch.

The accounts which Agricola sent to Rome of his success over the Caledonians were plain and unassuming; but the popularity which was in consequence attached to the victor was hateful to the emperor; and although, by his direction, the Senate were ordered to decree some hollow marks of distinction to

the governor of Britain, these were, in reality, but as dust thrown in the eyes of the Roman public, to conceal the real feelings which animated their imperial master. On some trifling pretence, Agricola was indirectly compelled to resign his command, Domitian being afraid to supplant him openly. He returned to Rome, and thence retired into private life—glad perhaps to escape in seclusion the danger that threatened all good men—and willing if possible to forget, in the bosom of his family, the evils which were undermining the power, and the tyrant who had arisen to blast the happiness, of his country.

In the course of his occupation of North Britain, we have seen the Roman legions spreading over a wide extent of country, and confirming their triumph on the very threshold of the Caledonian forest—yet retiring, in the moment of victory, from the position they had won; and abandoning the acquisition of territory, when its possession seemed, by the bloody defeat of the Caledonians, to be most firmly assured.

The reasons which dictated this retreat are unexplained: but perhaps Agricola had, by that time, learned to appreciate the true character of Domitian; and, foreseeing the prospect of uncertain support, or of insidious enmity, he may have turned, in bitterness of spirit, from the paths of conquest, to await, at the more immediate seat of his government, the progress of affairs in Rome. The country beyond the Forth was thus again abandoned to the native tribes; but the greater part of the island, to the south of that river, appears to have been entirely subdued. The most warlike of its inhabitants had either retired, in their love of independence, to harbour with the tribes beyond the Grampian mountains; or their martial spirit had been effectually quelled by the presence of the legions. When Agricola, therefore, took his final departure, he left this district in a state of perfect tranquillity—already a Roman province throughout—if we except a small corner among the mountains of Galloway, where the Novantes remained, it is supposed, not altogether conquered.

We have no means of knowing to what degree Agricola succeeded in persuading the Northern Lowlanders to live on amicable terms with his soldiery, and to regard their invaders as friends or allies—nor whether the allurements of ease and luxury were ever, by him, introduced among them, in order to undermine the national spirit of independence. Possibly enough there were many among the Gadeni, Damnii, and other tribes, who might thus early

have had reason to say, with their fellow-countrymen on the Humber and the Tees,

“Savior armis  
Luxuria incubuit.”

Still, the frequent necessity of action which attended his stay in Scotland may have proved a barrier to the wishes of Agricola in this respect; although the system he followed of always endeavouring to gain over, by gentle means, rather than to coerce the natives to subjection, must certainly have had the good effect of restraining the license of his soldiery, and in some measure of inducing the defenceless people to repose in his protection. The march of the Romans into North Britain was the prelude of a great change to its inhabitants. Thenceforward their entire national system was altered—the separate independence of their numerous petty tribes destroyed—and, after having been for some time intermingled by the necessity of flight, or by preparations for resistance, they were destined to re-appear on the scene in two great divisions—the one the subjects, the other the bitter enemies, of Roman dominion.

For the space of thirty-five years after the recall of Agricola, the ancient historians are almost all silent with regard to Britain. The odious reign of Domitian was closed by a conspiracy of his domestics,<sup>a</sup> and he left the Roman world to mourn the effects of his folly, in the many disgraceful defeats sustained by its armies throughout Sarmatia, Dacia, and elsewhere. His immediate successor Nerva ascended the throne when very old, and with no desire for foreign conquest; while Trajan, the adopted son of Nerva, had his attention so engaged in other quarters, that this island appears to have been but little thought of. It would seem, however, from a cursory passage of Tacitus, that, immediately after the departure of Agricola, the Romans lost much of what they had gained in North Britain.<sup>b</sup> The indecision or inaction of the Lieutenants who were appointed his successors, might well tempt the unsubdued Caledonians to become the assailants in turn; while any slight success on their part would undoubtedly give renewed life to their national coalition, and animate many a band of the fiery Celtæ to sweep past the forts of the isthmus, and to fall on the Roman stations within its protection, wherever an unguarded point could be discovered. In this manner, unless the Britons were at once vigorously repulsed, a desultory warfare might be commenced, which would

<sup>a</sup> Eutrop. Lib. VIII. c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> “Perdomita Britannia, et statim amissa.” Hist. Lib. I. c. 2.

compel the Romans to concentrate their forces on a few of the most important positions, and to abandon the rest of the country to the inroads of the enemy.

If we consider, indeed, what was then the state of affairs in the city of the Cæsars, it will create no surprise to find that the officers of Domitian were either men of inferior talent, or that the spirit of military enthusiasm had died within them. It is recorded that the immediate successor of Agricola, Sallustius Lucullus, was put to death, by order of the tyrant, for the trivial act of having given his name to a particular kind of spear, which it seems he called *Luculleos*.<sup>a</sup> If such a circumstance determined the fate of Lucullus—and if a dangerous ambition was thought to lurk under a matter so unworthy of notice—what could be expected of the commanders appointed to fill his place? certainly neither energy in counsel nor success in the field. It may, therefore, be readily supposed that, under such circumstances, the natives of Caledonia were again enabled to make head against the Roman power.

It is highly probable that, during the reigns both of Nerva and Trajan, the soldiers of the empire had great difficulty in maintaining any of their positions in Scotland; nay, it may even be considered doubtful whether they were not obliged to retreat entirely to the southward of the Tyne. The Emperor Hadrian ascended the throne in the year 117; and, as a proof of its unsettled state at that period, we learn from Spartian that it was then found very difficult to support the Roman authority in Britain.<sup>b</sup> Apparently careless of personal ease, and determined to be an actual witness of the state of affairs in the various provinces of the empire, the successor of Trajan made a general tour of his dominions; in the course of which he visited this island, and raised a wall of turf between the river Tyne and the Solway Firth:<sup>c</sup> soon after this he was obliged to take his departure, in consequence of some disturbances which had occurred in Egypt.<sup>d</sup> Such is the sum of all that is known with respect to this imperial visit. Meagre, however, as the statement is, we can glean from it that the Romans, if they had not already retired from beyond its limits, must at that period have had very little faith in their tenure

<sup>a</sup> Sueton in Vit. Domitiani.

<sup>b</sup> Vit. Hadr.

<sup>c</sup> About the year 120, A.D. Eutrop. Lib. VIII. c. 7, and Spartian Vit. Hadr. who mentions 80 Roman miles as the length of Hadrian's vallum. One of the rarest of that Emperor's coins, in great brass, represents two figures sacrificing at the altar, and contains the legend, *Adventus Aug. Britannia*.—Mionnet, Médailles Rom. p. 123.

<sup>d</sup> Spartian Vit. Hadr.



of North Britain; as we find the Emperor Hadrian erecting a wall of defence, not on the line where Agricola placed his forts in the fourth year of his command, but on the borders of the Ottadeni, some eighty miles farther south. It has been imagined that the Romans might still at that period have kept their ground to the north, and that the object of this wall was merely to restrain the mountaineers of Galloway, who had never yet been effectually subdued.<sup>a</sup> It seems, however, far from probable that a work of such magnitude would be undertaken with the sole view of protecting a frontier of eighty miles in length, against the plundering inroads of one or two particular tribes. We conceive it much more likely that, by the time of Hadrian's accession, the Caledonians had become so fully repossessed of their country, that he found it prudent to be satisfied with this line as the boundary of his insular possessions.

On the demise of Hadrian, A.D. 138, the reins of government fell into the hands of Titus Antoninus, surnamed Pius, on account of the clemency of his disposition. Eutropius lauds him as an admirable man, (*vir insignis*,) cruel to none, kind to all; doing honour to the good, detesting the bad—without being unjust towards them; and as one who on all occasions exhibited a spirit of self-denial for the public weal. If the golden promise of his private life shed a lustre on the hour of his accession to the throne, the entire course of his subsequent conduct preserved that radiance in unfading splendour, and spread its happy influence over the welfare of the Roman world. It formed a part of his policy to select for public employment such men only as were of high character, and on whose sense of justice he could firmly depend: may we not, in consequence, believe that many superior qualities were united in the person of Lollius Urbicus, whom, soon after his elevation to the throne, he appointed as his lieutenant in Britain?<sup>b</sup>

This officer arrived from Gaul about the year 139: at a time when not only had the natives of the northern districts shaken off, it would appear, the authority of their conquerors; but likewise when the Brigantes, who occupied nearly the whole of England on the northern side of the Humber, had risen in arms to imitate their example.<sup>c</sup> Animated, apparently, with a kindred spirit—and gifted with such talents as favour the poetic idea that the mantle of Agricola had descended on his shoulders—the first object of Urbicus was to recover to the Roman empire all that had been lost under the

<sup>a</sup> Chalm. I. 115.

<sup>b</sup> Julius Capitolinus—Vit. Anton. Pii.

<sup>c</sup> Idem.

government of his predecessors: and this object seems to have been accomplished with celerity and signal success; as we find him, so early as in the year 140, in possession of the whole country, as far as the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde. The rapidity of his conquests must lead us, indeed, to infer, that the measures of this commander were conducted with so much energy that the native tribes were hastily compelled to give way before him—until the *verilla* of the Roman legions had been again planted on the forts of Agricola.

Aware, from the experience of the past, that this chain of detached posts formed an insufficient protection against the inroads of the Northern clans, he determined to strengthen and repair these works, and to unite them by one continuous wall. Such an undertaking could not, it is probable, be fully completed for a considerable time; but we have good reason to suppose that so much of it as rendered the work a sufficient barrier of defence, was finished in the course of the same year—140 A.D. The reader will find, in a subsequent part of the volume, a detailed account of this extensive work—so powerful a testimony of the irrepressible hostility of our Caledonian ancestors, and of the persevering conduct which characterised their invaders.

The Roman historians seldom allude to Britain during the reign of Antoninus, and we are not informed how long his legate Urbicus retained the government of the province. It is admitted, however, that, under his direction, many important works besides the wall were carried on in this part of the island, by which the general settlement of the country was considerably advanced. Having, in the first instance, established that line of defence for the protection of the southern districts, it is believed that he afterwards advanced to the north—penetrating by the valley of the Earn, to occupy the comparatively level country along the east coast, as far as the Roman Ptoroton—now Burghead, on the Moray Firth—and in course of his progress erecting many of those camps which have been, by some writers, ascribed to Agricola.

Lollius Urbicus remained, according to Chalmers, as pro-prætor in Britain during the whole reign of Antoninus Pius, an interval of about twenty years. If so, we certainly are much more likely to be correct in ascribing to him the formation of those roads and military works, which exist in the counties beyond the Tay, than to Agricola, whose residence in Scotland was so brief, and to whose measures so much resistance had been latterly opposed.

It seems natural, therefore, to conclude that, under the legate of Antonine, the

Roman power in North Britain had attained to its meridian height; and that, stimulated by the full confidence and promptly-accorded support of his imperial master, no exertions would be spared by Urbicus to promote, as much as possible, the Romanisation (if we may use the term) of the colony. With this view, additional and more permanent roads than those constructed by Agricola were probably formed, even as far north as the county of Elgin. Towns might spring into existence, and luxury be introduced within their walls. Trade and agriculture were perhaps alike encouraged; and in many quarters the native population became induced, we may suppose, to cultivate the arts of peace, and to turn their swords, not indeed into pruning hooks, but into the hatchet or the spade. To promote the cause of colonisation, the Emperor Antoninus extended the right of Roman citizenship over the whole empire,<sup>a</sup> in order that the full advantages of his benign government might be experienced by the people of every country which acknowledged the sway of Rome.

At this period a Roman navy was stationed on the coasts of Britain, and great exertions seem to have been made to insure the tranquillity of the island; it may therefore be presumed, that, after the first campaign of Urbicus, the country enjoyed, during the whole reign of Antoninus Pius, an almost uninterrupted peace. But on his death this state of repose was destined to terminate. Regarding this event, apparently, as affording a favourable opportunity for action, some of the British tribes again rose in arms, and the flame of war once more broke out. At this time Lollius Urbicus was no longer governor of the province; for we find that the new Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, had appointed Calphurnius Agricola to the command in Britain, whither he immediately sent him to put down the insurrection.<sup>b</sup> He succeeded in effecting this object; but, a few years afterwards, policy seems to have dictated the concentration of his forces, and the whole country north of the wall erected by Urbicus was in consequence abandoned by the army under his command.<sup>c</sup> It has even been supposed that the Roman troops were compelled, during the reign of Aurelius, to abandon the whole of modern Scotland to its original state of independence. This has been inferred from the circumstance that no

<sup>a</sup> Ulpian Digest. Tit. *De Statu Hominum*.

<sup>b</sup> Julius Capitolinus. Vit. Marc. Anton. Philos.

<sup>c</sup> Probably about the year 170—Chalm. Caled. I. 183.

inscriptions relating to that Emperor have ever been discovered to the north of Hadrian's wall—an insufficient reason, however, if we take into consideration that those inscriptions discovered along the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde, which bear any reference to dates, were erected by the military to commemorate the construction of the northern *Vallum*; and that, this work being completed, the cause no longer existed for such memorials to be set forth to view: hence the reason, most probably, that we find none on this side of the Tweed, bearing the name of any other Cæsar than that of Antoninus Pius; although there are many, dedicated to various deities, which may have been the pious offerings of a later time.

Whatever may have been the occasional changes of fortune which occurred to them in the time of Aurelius, we find that the Roman troops had possession of the Caledonian wall in the reign of Commodus, his successor, who became sole Emperor in the year 180. About this time the fury of the Caledonian Britons, so long pent up, broke forth with extraordinary violence. They assailed the Roman barrier—forced their way through its defences—slew the general in command—and carried destruction into the bosom of the Roman province. Another legate from Rome, Ulpian Marcellus, again however drove them back; and succeeded, by his prudent management, in maintaining peace for many subsequent years. Nor, according to all accounts, was the country again disturbed until towards the close of the reign of Commodus; when the island was once more involved in bloodshed—not, however, at the instance of the northern tribes, but through the mutinous conduct of the Roman soldiery.<sup>a</sup> Shortly afterwards commenced the struggle for empire between Severus, Pescennius Niger, and Albinus—the last of whom then held the command in Britain. The final issue of this contest was decided in the year 197, on the plains of Lyons, in Gaul. Albinus was killed; and, Pescennius Niger having been previously disposed of, Severus became sovereign ruler of the Roman world.<sup>b</sup>

In support of his cause, Albinus had conducted a powerful army across the English channel—in the ranks of which were included a considerable body of auxiliary Britons, whose shouts and war-cries were regarded as a novelty in the subsequent battle. The occurrence of those civil commotions, and the departure of the troops which followed Albinus to Gaul, led, as was to be expected, to a

<sup>a</sup> Dion in Xiphil. Lib. LXXII. and Jul. Capitol. Vit. Pertin.    <sup>b</sup> Idem. Vit. Albin. Lib. III.

return of those scenes of tumult and confusion which so often accompanied the decline of legitimate power, in almost every part of the Roman dominions. In the beginning of his reign, Severus appointed Virius Lupus his pro-prætor in Britain. On assuming the command, that officer found everything in a state of disorder, while the Caledonians were again forcing their way into the cultivated districts; but, being apparently a man of much tact, and finding his resources too weak for an appeal to force, he succeeded in engaging the Northern Tribes to suspend hostilities, and by this means relieved the Roman colonists from the evils of their presence.<sup>a</sup> This state of affairs was not, however, fated to continue for any length of time, and Virius Lupus was soon after obliged to write to Severus—begging him either to visit Britain in person, in order to support the Roman authority in the island, or else to send him additional troops, that he might himself accomplish this now difficult task.<sup>b</sup>

Although far advanced in life, and enervated by indisposition, the emperor received those tidings with no symptoms of melancholy or anger; for the conduct of his sons Caracalla and Geta was now overclouding the evening of his days; and he knew that he had every reason to fear the influence of their evil passions on the lawless disposition of an idle and dissolute soldiery. He consequently regarded, with a degree of bitter satisfaction, the prospect of a war in Britain—happy to find, in action, employment for his troops, and to be able to remove his sons, with a good grace, from the corruption and intrigue in which they were involved at Rome. Between the two so much enmity existed, that Severus might justly fear to repose in either a superior command; and perhaps it was on this account that he resolved to appear in person at the seat of war, although at the time so debilitated that he was obliged to perform his journey from Italy extended on a litter. He was accompanied by his sons, and arrived in England in or about the year 206.

It is said that Severus had learned by his horoscope, that from this expedition he should never return; still the activity of his character appears to have suffered no diminution, either from the inroads of disease, or from those prognostications of evil to which he gave, it is believed, implicit credence. Immediately on his arrival from Gaul, he commenced his preparations for marching against the Caledonian tribes; but it is highly probable that the

<sup>a</sup> Barbeyrac Sup. Acc. Corps Diplom. pt. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Herod. Lib. III. c. 46.

delay necessary to perfect his vast arrangements, compelled the suspension of any actual advance until the following year, A.D. 208.\*

Apparently determined to crush, if possible for ever, the bitter hostility of the Northern Britons, the aged Emperor spread no little dismay amongst these mountaineers, by the immense force which he assembled, and the gigantic preparations with which he thought proper to herald the menaced invasion. Alarmed, it is reported, at the prospect before them, the different tribes dispatched ambassadors to sue for peace, but without success; and, accordingly, when the proper season had arrived, Severus took the field, with Caracalla in his train, leaving his younger son to govern the southern provinces in his absence.

It remains a matter of doubt whether the great wall which bore his name was erected by the Emperor before or after his expedition into Scotland. It appears, however, by no means likely that such a work should have been undertaken, to be left in the rear by an all-powerful army, advancing to what must have appeared a certain conquest—and its formation may, perhaps with greater probability, be assigned to the period of his return—when the aged sovereign, having learned from experience that no certain tenure could be held of the countries beyond the Tyne, resolved to fix the limits of the Roman empire on the same spot which Hadrian had formerly selected for the purpose.

From the accounts which Xiphiline and Herodian give of the great difficulties encountered in this campaign, it would appear that, after reaching the wall of Antoninus, Severus did not lead his forces through those districts formerly opened up by Lollius Urbicus and others; but that, determined to hunt out the natives in their most secret fastnesses, he at once penetrated the gorges of the Grampians, and forced his way northward as far as the Moray Firth—perhaps taking the line of the modern road by Dunkeld and Blair Athol; along which the remains of some supposed Roman camps have been discovered.<sup>b</sup>

We are informed that he lost 50,000 men on this expedition; not by the sword, but in consequence of the dreadful fatigues his soldiers were obliged to encounter in surmounting the natural obstacles of the country. Should we give credit to the sacrifice of only one half of the number, it is sufficient

\* For the entire particulars of this expedition, see the works of Herodian and of Dion Cassius in Xiphil.

<sup>b</sup> Horal. 59—Gord. 66.

to prove that he traversed regions of far greater difficulty than any which had been attempted in Britain before his time; and such as, we may well suppose, would be met with in the very heart of the Caledonian forest,—trees to cut down, mountains to level, morasses to dry up, and bridges to construct. Such were the labours to be grappled with, while an active enemy hovered around his troops—never showing themselves in force, but always on the alert to seize an advantage, whenever or wherever it could be obtained. It is supposed, with some probability, that we owe the existence of many of the mosses in that quarter to the destruction produced by the Roman axe among the indigenous timber, which was left to decay, and to constitute the basis of our peat formations. The remains of ancient trees are still numerous in the bogs of Perthshire and the adjacent counties, which bear evident marks of the hatchet—a circumstance not a little favourable to this hypothesis.

The distance to which Severus advanced in this expedition is nowhere clearly stated. Xiphiline says, that, although still so weak as to be obliged to travel in a close litter, he penetrated to the very extremity of the island—observing, with care, the exact course of the sun, and the novel celestial phenomena of those high latitudes.<sup>a</sup> But whether he did actually advance so far as Sutherland or Caithness, is more a matter of opinion than susceptible of proof. The Roman authors had at best a very imperfect knowledge of the geography of North Britain, and their statements in this respect can scarcely be received with implicit belief—if we are to judge from Ptolemy's map; in which, for example, the Mull of Galloway is shown to be the most northerly part of the island!

Notwithstanding the great loss of men he sustained on his northern progress, the Emperor did not turn from his designs of extermination until the Caledonians, anxious to get rid of him, again sued for peace. It is not improbable that he gladly availed himself of this implied submission, in order to extricate himself without dishonour from a dangerous position; as it appears that he soon after concluded a treaty with the natives, and led back the remains of his army to the south of the Tyne.<sup>b</sup>

A peace of this nature could not have been regarded as resting on any very

<sup>a</sup> Dion. in Xiphil. Lib. LXXVI.

<sup>b</sup> Gordon supposes the army of Severus to have amounted to 80,000 men when he entered Scotland—Itin. p. 137.

secure basis; and this consideration may have induced him to place a more efficient barrier than the turf wall of Hadrian between the southern provinces and such questionable neighbours as the Mæatæ and Caledonii, whom he had just left; although he may still have retained possession of many of the fortresses which lay between that point and the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde.

If Severus had ever entertained any doubts with regard to the permanence of his recent truce, they were doomed to be very soon dispelled by the re-appearance in arms of the Northern tribes; who had evidently promised submission solely to remove the pressure of immediate danger. Exasperated at this breach of faith, he immediately prepared for a second expedition against them—determined to immolate the entire race as an offering to his vengeance.

But the days of Severus were now drawing to a close; and fate had decreed that the Caledonian freemen should escape the dangers which again menaced them in their wild retreats. Debilitated in body, and a prey to mental anguish at the conduct of Caracalla, the aged Emperor expired at York, while on the eve of entering upon the proposed campaign, in the year of our Lord 210.

The advance of Severus into Caledonia, in the year 208, can be regarded only in the light of a predatory inroad, conducted on a large scale, and supported by all the resources of imperial power. His troops succeeded, with the greatest difficulty, in forcing their way into regions till then unknown—levelling the primeval forest, and draining those fetid marshes which had received its rotting *debris*, ever since the spread of vegetation had concealed their swampy hollows from the light of day; but such appears to have been the entire amount of their achievements. Over the natives the Romans had no opportunity to triumph, and all the vast preparations of Severus were doomed to pass away without one favourable result. Every record of his march—his temporary roads, bridges, and fortifications—must soon have hastened to decay—leaving only those scattered memorials of his inroad, which may have long remained visible, in the places where the vestiges of his camps stood forth from amid the fallen timber. What miserable mementos of that enormous sacrifice that had left the bones of so many thousand men to whiten among the thickets of the dreary North!



The death of Severus put a stop to all preparations for his second campaign beyond the Tyne; and Caracalla (now declared joint Emperor with Geta) hastened to purchase the forbearance of the Caledonians by an inglorious peace. At freedom from all restraint, he no doubt felt anxious to enjoy the full sweets of power; and, yearning after the delights of a luxurious capital, was apparently resolved to remove, at any price, whatever threatened to obstruct his return to Rome. He accordingly gave up to the Northern Britons a large extent of those territories which had been conquered from their ancestors, and in all probability retained but little, if any, of the districts situated to the north of his father's wall. It has been contended by some authors, that Caracalla may have abandoned all the country north of the line of an ancient entrenchment, called the "Catrail," or "Picts' Work Ditch," which is said to have extended from the neighbourhood of the Solway to the Firth of Forth;<sup>a</sup> inclosing, towards Northumberland, nearly the whole extent of country now composing the counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Berwick. But this is mere conjecture, and the fossé in question is rather perhaps to be ascribed to the natives.

The two brothers soon afterwards returned to Italy; and, for the long period of 73 years from this epoch, the voice of history is almost silent with regard to Britain. Whether it so happened that the Caledonians, satisfied with the concessions of Caracalla, had remained in peace during this long interval, and that the consequent repose of the island presented nothing of sufficient interest to engage the pen of the historian; or that, in the constant revolution of important events nearer home, the affairs of this distant colony commanded little attention, it is impossible to determine: it may probably be the case, that no occurrence of any moment arose during this period to disturb the general tranquillity of Britain. If so, we may look upon those seventy-three years as forming a golden era in the general history of its Roman colonisation.

There are, however, one or two circumstances recorded during that interval, which, as they bear some reference to British affairs, may be here taken notice of. The first of these refers to the death of Alexander Severus, whom Lampridius alludes to as having been killed in Britain, A.D. 235; while

<sup>a</sup> Gordon Itin. 103, 104, and Chalm. *contra*, I. 242.

Eutropius mentions this event as occurring in Gaul.<sup>a</sup> To judge by an inscription discovered in Cumberland, it appears probable that this Emperor had, at all events, visited the island, whether he died here or not.<sup>b</sup> From other inscriptions we learn the names—but nothing farther in regard to them—of one or two of the Roman legates who commanded here during the reign of the Gordians. The next circumstance brings us to the reign of Gallienus, who assumed the purple A.D. 253 or 254. At this time a host of tyrants, as they were called, appeared in the various provinces, and were severally invested with the insignia of empire by the rebellious soldiery. Of these, two at least figured in Britain—Victorinus and Posthumus—the coins of both of whom have been discovered in different parts of the island; but, beyond the mere fact of their existence, nothing is known either in regard to their transactions, or as respects the state of the country while it was under their sway. Some allusion has also been made to the mutinous conduct of the military in Britain during the reign of Probus,<sup>c</sup> and to the subsequent appointment of Carinus, the son of Carus, as its governor.<sup>d</sup> But from such meagre and disjointed notices nothing of any importance can be ascertained.

In the united reign of Dioclesian and Maximian, which dates from the year 285, the government of Britain was usurped, first by Carausius, the Admiral of the Roman fleet, and then by Allectus, his companion in arms; but it does not appear that either of these officers had any occasion to come in contact with the Caledonians. According to Nennius, however, the former of the two had directed the reparation of one of the walls; but as this author makes out Carausius to have been likewise the murderer of Severus, who died some eighty years before his time, we fear that the statements of the learned monk cannot always be implicitly relied on.

It is probable that, in the beginning of the fourth century, the colonial provinces were again threatened from the North; as it appears that, in the year 306, the Emperor Constantius Chlorus arrived in this island from Gaul, and directed an expedition against the unsettled “barbarians”—now for the first time mentioned by the name of Picts.<sup>e</sup> In this campaign he was in some degree successful, but died, on his return from it, at York<sup>f</sup>—leaving behind

<sup>a</sup> Lampridius Vit. Alex. Sev. Eutrop. Lib. VIII. c. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Horsl. Brit—Cumber. No. 51.

<sup>c</sup> A.D. 276—282.

<sup>d</sup> Vopiscus, Vit. Car.

<sup>e</sup> v. Chalm. Caled. I. 191.

<sup>f</sup> A.D. 306—Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. VI. 91.

him a better character than belonged to most of those who figured on the stage during the decline of the Roman empire.

Eumenius the orator is the first of the ancients who makes use of the term *Picti* as applied to the Caledonians; and as the two names have been introduced synonymously, not only by him, but by later authors,<sup>a</sup> we are possessed of pretty certain evidence that the "Caledonii" and the "Picti" were one and the same people. The first of these appellatives seems to have been, in course of time, entirely superseded by the other;—we trench, however, on a subject that has given rise to a vast deal of fiery discussion, in which we certainly have no ambition to take a part; and only refer to those particulars, in explanation of the change which henceforward so generally occurs in the designation of our Celtic ancestors.

Constantius was succeeded by his son Constantine, surnamed the Great. Amidst his other wars and intestine struggles, he found it necessary to commence hostilities against the Picts, whose power, it is said, he so reduced as to deprive them of the means of giving him any farther annoyance.<sup>b</sup> We hear nothing more of them in his reign: he died A.D. 337.

With the exception of one or two incursions of the Picts and Scots, which latter are first mentioned in the year 360,<sup>c</sup> nothing worthy of notice seems to have occurred in North Britain until the accession of Valentinian, A.D. 364. At this period a general confederation against the Romans was formed by the Picts, our Caledonian progenitors—the Scots, an offshoot from the same Gaelic stock, who are supposed to have passed over from Ireland—and the *Attacotti*, a fierce and warlike tribe, who occupied part of the counties of Dumbarton and Argyle.<sup>d</sup> With irresistible fury, these allied Celtæ forced their way over both the walls of Antoninus and Severus, (the first was probably at this time perfectly defenceless,) and carried devastation into the fairest districts of England; while at the same time the Saxons made their appearance on the eastern coasts—contributing to increase the difficulties of the Romans and the miseries of the provincial Britons. Severus and Jovinus were sent over in succession to restore the imperial power, but without success; and, for a period of three years, the greater part of the island seems to have been at the mercy of a host of enemies. At length, in 367, Theodosius made his appear-

<sup>a</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXVII. c. 7, and Claudian's panegyric on Theodosius.

<sup>b</sup> Eutrop. Lib. X. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Ammian. Marcell.

<sup>d</sup> Idem.

ance on the scene; and, by his prudence and valour, succeeded in surprising the invaders, loaded with plunder; and, after a series of victories, he again drove them beyond the wall of Antoninus, and effectually cleared the southern districts of their presence. When this had been effected, he turned his attention towards repairing the damages which they had occasioned in the provincial towns and fortified stations throughout the country, and finally restored the northern *vallum* as a barrier against future inroads—erecting upon it several additional forts and watch-towers, and strengthening at all points this safeguard of the re-conquered province; to which, in honour of the reigning Emperor, he gave the name of VALENTIA.<sup>a</sup>

This energetic conduct on the part of the Roman general Theodosius led to a long cessation of hostilities on the part of the Scots and Picts. Some mention is indeed made of their having come into contact with the troops of Maximus the usurper, a short time subsequent to his assuming the government of Britain in 381;<sup>b</sup> with this exception, they appear to have remained tolerably quiet during the remainder of the fourth century.

In the year 395, Honorius, then a mere youth, became, on the death of his father, Emperor of the west. His education had been intrusted to Stilicho, a man of great abilities, who had scarcely beheld his pupil invested with the imperial dignity, when, in the capacity of minister, he was called upon to resist, on almost all her frontiers, the enemies of Rome: amongst others, the Scots and Picts, again pressing forward from their mountain retreats, it required the utmost exertions on his part to support the generals who, at the head of the British legions, were struggling to arrest their progress. By his assistance, however, the tempest was for some time allayed in this quarter, and the wall of Antoninus was again repaired and occupied by the Roman troops.<sup>c</sup>

But the talents or energy of one man could do little to withstand the storm which now gathered upon all sides of the western Empire, or to arrest the portentous course of that mighty current, which was destined to overwhelm the majesty of the Roman dominion, and to sweep before it the tottering emblems of its power. The Goths, the Vandals, and a host of other bar-

<sup>a</sup> See Gordon's *Itin.* p. 138—*Chalm. Calcd. I.* 194—*Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXVII.*  
c. 7.

<sup>b</sup> *Prosper Chron. Aquit.*

<sup>c</sup> *Tillemont Hist. des. Empereurs IV.* 502, and See *Chalm. I.* 185.

barians, were already hanging like a locust-cloud over the smiling plains of Italy, while the Roman armies, heedless of the danger, were wasting their strength in party dissensions, and in mutinous riot. To defend the vitals of the empire, it was found necessary to withdraw a part of the Roman forces from Britain, and the knowledge of their departure became the signal of attack to the Scots and Picts.<sup>a</sup>

Everything seemed at this period to prognosticate the disruption of the empire; and the general gloom of its citizens was materially increased by the disgrace and death of Stilicho, in 408. In Britain the mutinous soldiery had invested first Marcus and then Gratian with the imperial purple; and, on the death of the latter, had transferred the dignity to a man of mean extraction, named Constantine. In order to maintain his position, this usurper found it necessary to lead an army into Gaul, which was composed of the flower of the British youth; and as his followers never returned to the country of their birth, the island provinces were so weakened by the loss of their defenders, that the remaining inhabitants became more than ever exposed to the triumphant inroads of their northern assailants.<sup>b</sup>

The Roman troops now left in Britain were too few in number to protect the southern colonists with effect. On the death of Constantine in 411, the Emperor Honorius again became its undisputed ruler, and sent some reinforcements to the relief of the inhabitants; but he was soon after obliged to recall them, and to turn over, to the weak and enervated citizens of the civilised districts, the task of defending their property and their lives, from the attacks of their insatiate foes. It would appear, in fact, that the Roman forces were about this period entirely withdrawn from the island by Honorius, who found it necessary to advise the natives, so long the subjects of the Empire, to arm in their own defence, as he could no longer spare troops for their protection.<sup>c</sup>

Thus left to their own resources, the provincial Britons could oppose but an ineffectual resistance to their enemies; while such of the Romans as had settled in the country began at the same time to dispose of their estates

<sup>a</sup> v. Roy Military Antiq. p. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Bedæ Hist. Lib. I. A portion of these expatriated bands afterwards settled in the north of Gaul, and gave the name of *BRITTANY* to one of its provincial divisions.

<sup>c</sup> Zosimus, Lib. VI. c. 5.

and to abandon the island; while the Picts and Scots swept through the country, and committed the greatest ravages on the miserable population. In the year 416, their repeated supplications induced Honorius to send over a single legion to their relief, which drove back the intruders; and, after recommending their allies to repair the wall as a means of protection, again left them to their own resources.<sup>a</sup>

The inhabitants, acting on this advice, restored, it would seem, the Northern Wall;<sup>b</sup> but without thereby adding to their security; for no sooner had the Romans retired than they were again assailed by their old enemies, who passed over the Firths in their currachs, and, landing within the *prætentura* of Urbicus, carried bloodshed and devastation on every side.<sup>c</sup> In consequence of their renewed sufferings, the provincial Britons again turned for protection towards Rome—at that time governed by Theodosius the younger. Their supplications were not disregarded, and, for the last time, a Roman legion made its appearance in Scotland. This body of men was commanded by Gallio of Ravenna; it arrived unexpectedly in the autumnal season of, it is believed, the year 422;<sup>d</sup> and immediately fell upon the Scots and Picts, who were routed with great slaughter. After this the inhabitants were advised by the Roman commander to abandon the rest of the country, and to withdraw within the wall of Severus. He counselled them, at the same time, to have it put into a proper state of defence, as a means of security against the inroads of their enemies; and, having seen some appearance of peace restored, the last of the Roman forces took their departure from Britain<sup>e</sup>—a country which, for upwards of three hundred years, had acknowledged the influence of their presence for good or for evil—their march preceding, in every clime, the advent of civilisation—and proving, amid all the evils which attended the decline of her mighty sway, that, in the words of Pope,

“ Learning and Rome alike in empire grew,  
And arts still flourish’d where her eagles flew.”

In conclusion, it may be observed, that the whole of the country

<sup>a</sup> Barbeyrac, Sup. Corps Dipl. Part 2.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Chalmers (vol. I. p. 196) supposes, from the Notitia, that some of the Roman troops remained in garrison on the wall of Antoninus till towards the middle of the fifth century.

<sup>c</sup> Bede, B. I. who distinctly mentions that the wall in question was that which terminated on the Clyde.

<sup>d</sup> Chalm. I. 195.

<sup>e</sup> Bede, B. I.—Gough’s Camd. III. 355.

to the north of the Tyne and Solway became divided by the Romans into three provinces,—namely, VALENTIA, extending from the wall of Hadrian to that of Antoninus—VESPASIANA, which spread from the latter barrier northward, and was bounded, it is supposed, by the great valley through which now passes the Caledonian Canal—and CALEDONIA, embracing the entire country beyond that line. In the first of these, the Roman power was for some time supreme; of the second they were never completely masters, but only occasionally overran a part of it with their armies, and maintained, at the sword's point, a precarious possession. The third division remained in a state of perfect independence—the impenetrable retreat of the unvanquished Caledonii—sending, like the Sarmatian forests, its periodical tempests upon the reposing South—not laden with the burst of elemental strife, but fraught with the outbreaks of barbarian vengeance.







## CHAPTER III.

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### THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF NORTH BRITAIN.

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#### SECTION I.

##### A PRELIMINARY VIEW OF THE ALTERATIONS EFFECTED ON THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY BY THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ROMANS.

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PREVIOUS to entering on a detailed account of the military and other works executed in this country by the Romans, it may be proper to take a cursory glance at the principal changes which the presence of the imperial armies is presumed to have introduced within the forest retreats of our Celtic progenitors.

There is every reason to believe, that, when Agricola led forward his troops from their winter quarters in Northumberland, he found the country before him a most difficult one to penetrate—in fact, an almost impassable wilderness—its mountain passes encumbered with the accumulated obstacles of a primeval vegetation, where the fallen trunks of the elder forest lay thickly strewn amongst those decaying remains, whence the living wood sprung upward in their place—its few scattered plains intersected, in most places, by morass and jungle, or here and there transformed into deep and dangerous swamps. Within its limits he found no ready shelter for his troops—no signs of harvest promise, which might cheer the invader with the hope of future

supplies: all was unproductive and forbidding; and, if previously ignorant of its actual condition, he could not have advanced to any great distance without being made aware, that, for the entire supplies necessary to support his forces, he should be compelled to have recourse either to his magazines on the Tyne, or to the fleet which is said to have, at that time, cruised between the coast of Northumberland and the Firth of Forth. To the former, however, he must chiefly have looked for the means of victualling his army; since, however valuable as auxiliaries, the attendant galleys could not be always relied on for assistance—liable, as they were, to be at times blown off the coast by the frequent storms which swept those turbulent seas; hence it must have become an object of the first importance with Agricola to secure, as he advanced to the North, an open communication with his stations between the Solway and the German Ocean. This necessarily retarded his progress; but it had the advantage of enabling the Roman soldiery to form, as they went along, good temporary roads, which were guarded at every point of importance by entrenched posts, and thus kept open for the passage of supplies.

When the Romans first entered this division of the island, they met, we are told, with but little resistance from the natives: the only difficulties, therefore, which opposed their progress, were those presented by the nature of the country. The usual order of march, in which the legionary troops moved forward into the territories of an enemy, must of necessity have been considerably changed, when the army of Agricola had on this occasion taken the field. Instead of the scouts of light horse having the much coveted honour to lead the way, and the right wing to follow with all its *materiel* of war, we may suppose the swarthy pioneers—the lightly-clad *Velites*, their javelins perhaps exchanged for hatchets—to have been ever in the front, labouring to effect a passage for the heavy armed troops, the baggage waggons, and the various *Alæ* of horse—now, by the force of circumstances, thrown into the rear. With this object, the woods were cut down before them, and the trunks of the trees made use of to form a roadway across the morass—the tangled brushwood was cleared away—the inequalities of the ground were in some measure levelled—bridges of timber were made to span the water-courses or gullies—the fords of the rivers were improved—in short, wherever the army advanced, it laid the foundation, on its passage, of those great and durable military ways of which so many vestiges still exist. Wherever, along the line of march,

a proper situation presented itself, the soldiery were employed, we may be certain, in erecting the forts which were to protect the road—raising their earthen walls—crowning them with palisades—and clearing from around them every bush or tree behind which an enemy might by any chance find cover.

It may also be imagined how widely resounded the clang of the axe, and with what rapidity the gnarled oaks gave way, when, at the conclusion of a march, the army halted to encamp; unable perhaps to reach an unencumbered spot before the arrival of night. Then, with their usual skill and rapidity, a portion of the forces would be unceasingly at work, until a wide circuit had been laid open around them, and the ramparts were completed which were to inclose, during the midnight watches, the skin-covered tents of the invading legions.

But besides the main-road or roads constructed by Agricola when he entered Scotland, he no doubt also formed, as he advanced, many *Vicinal*, or side-ways, through the forests, either, it may be, for the purpose of exploring the surrounding country, or of communicating with the Roman fleet. It seems also highly probable, that, when any position naturally strong presented itself to view, he would immediately send a party of troops to entrench themselves on the spot, whether it lay directly on his line of march or not—his design being to secure a permanent occupation of the country; and he would therefore be fully alive to the importance of availing himself, without delay, of every commanding position in which he could afford to place a garrison. Between all such stations and his main line of communication some kind of roads required to be formed and kept up; so that, by the time this indefatigable leader reached the Forth, how great a change must have been effected in the territories of more than one of our Caledonian tribes! The solitude of their hunting grounds had been violated, and their inmost recesses were, in many directions, laid open. The protection hitherto thrown around them by the wild nature of their country was gone; and the Roman horsemen now rode at speed, and their waggons passed heavily along, where, a few months before, the hardy native could with difficulty force his way. Within the depths of the forest were heard the voices of a people new to these solitudes—as, from their scattered forts, the Roman soldiers raised the careless laugh, while aiming, it may be, to lighten the tedium of their solitary watch. On many a height were doubtless to be seen the newly-formed entrenchments of the stranger, behind which glistened, we may

believe, the burnished helmets of the *Centurial* parties appointed for their defence; while, amid the surrounding country, wherever a native village appeared, the rude huts of the aborigines looked forth in the shadow of the "eternal woods," cheerless and deserted. Alas! for the Caledonian of that unhappy time! From some mountain retreat he may have looked down, perhaps with a kindling eye, on those hostile proceedings of an enemy till then unknown. He could little dream of all that was to follow: but, as he beheld his ancestral trees falling before the axe of the stranger—as he saw the stake-crowned ramparts rising on the hill-side—and observed the imposing array of the Roman troops surmounting, in unbroken order, every obstacle which opposed their progress—well might he have turned from the sight, with a heavy foreboding at heart that some portentous storm was bursting on his country.

As the forces of Agricola continued to occupy this part of the island, penetrating successively in different directions, the same system of securing their conquests was, of course, pursued wherever they went; until the whole country south of the Ochil Hills on one side, and of the Kilsyth or Campsie range on the other, was intersected to a considerable extent by such temporary roads as we have described, and occupied at intervals by various military posts, of varying size and strength, by which those roads in all cases passed, or to which they directly led. In this manner the territories of the Gadeni, the Ottadeni, the Damnii, the Horestii, and other tribes, became exposed to the common enemy; and the inhabitants were compelled either to seek safety in flight amongst their countrymen beyond the Grampians, or to yield submission to the authority of the Roman commander. Under both circumstances a complete change swept over the condition of the people; on the one hand, they were driven from their customary abodes, to be scattered among tribes even less civilised than themselves; on the other, they became the subjects of a people prone to extirpate the national habits of the conquered; who proscribed their chiefs, dispersed their priesthood, and did all that lay in their power to root out every vestige of their primitive freedom.

Great, however, as were the changes effected by Agricola in the general condition of the country, he was in all probability the originator of but few of those military works, the vestiges of which have existed in modern times. There are one or two camps or fixed stations which may, indeed, with some appearance of probability, be regarded as the memorials of his invasion; beyond this, how-

ever, we must undoubtedly assign to a later period all those remains of Roman enterprise, which have been, or which still can be, traced in Scotland. Many antiquaries have been inclined to ascribe to that general almost every work of importance executed by the Romans in this country; led, apparently, to such a conclusion from the circumstance of his transactions being so much better known to us, in so far, at least, as regards this portion of the island, than those of any commander who succeeded him in the government of Britain. But although the lieutenants of Hadrian, of the Antonines, and of some of their successors to the throne, were not so fortunate as to have their actions chronicled by a pen like that of Tacitus, it cannot surely, on that account, be supposed that the period of their rule over the British provinces was profitless and barren. It must besides be remembered, that Agricola's stay in this country only extended over a few seasons; and that, during the greater part of the time, his troops were actively engaged in pursuing the enemy, or in fighting to make good the position they had won. It seems, therefore, far from probable, that he should have had either time or opportunity for the improvement of the districts he overran, or for the construction of any military works whatever, excepting such as were absolutely necessary to open up the means of communication, and to secure the safety of his troops.

Agricola no doubt did all that an experienced leader could do, to improve and to civilise those districts into which the success of his arms enabled him to introduce the customs and the arts of Rome: but here his intentions were, it may be said, arrested, while he yet directed only the preliminary steps which were to lead to an effective colonisation of the country. He was therefore but the precursor of the Roman occupation, in its proper sense: he led, as it were, the vanguard of the Roman march—going forth, in Cæsar's words, to “see and conquer,” and to prepare the way for the progress of his successors.

To the second century of the Christian era may evidently be ascribed the great majority of the military works constructed by the Roman armies in Scotland. No history, however, affords any great degree of light upon the subject, and extremely little is known of what occurred in the northern parts of Britain, from the time of Agricola's departure until the accession of Antoninus Pius, about sixty years thereafter. If, as some authors have supposed, we are

to attribute the silence of the ancient historians as a proof that the Romans continued here in quiet possession of their conquest during the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, we may naturally conclude that they were not unemployed the while in extending the hand of improvement over the infant colony. Considering, however, that the last-named Emperor found it necessary to establish a boundary wall on the frontiers of Northumberland, it seems probable that, in his time at least, the Romans had no great reason to congratulate themselves on the peaceable disposition of the Caledonian tribes, or on the general aspect of their own affairs in the North. Hence considerable weight attaches to the opinion, that, after the recall of Agricola, the native inhabitants were enabled to regain a great part of what they had lost. The question is one that cannot now be decided; nor is it indeed of any material importance: but it would certainly appear that the Romans had lost much of their authority in the districts beyond, when they found it necessary to raise a line of defence between the Firth of Solway and the river Tyne; and there may perhaps be no little truth in the supposition, that, during the period which intervened between the reign of Domitian and that of the first and greatest of the Antonines, the northern half of Britain had, in no small degree, re-assumed the nomadic freedom of its original condition.

By this time, however, the country had become so well known to the Romans, and they had done so much to facilitate, as they believed, its ultimate subjugation, that its temporary loss, under the withering influence of misgovernment at home, was probably a matter of very trivial concern to those among the old soldiers of Agricola who still longed to uphold the glory of the national arms; nor could the Caledonian himself, even when he seemed to look on the restoration of his ancient freedom, feel otherwise than that a mighty change was upon all around him. He had returned perhaps to his native valley on the Tweed, after many years of wandering in the northern forests; and might thence have marked, with a fire-lit, joyful eye, the last of the legionary cohorts disappearing over the sloping spur of the Eildon Hills—but when his thoughts reverted to himself, to his kindred, his village, his temple, and the many things that *were*—he may well have been startled to find himself a stranger amid the scenes of his family-home: and should it at that moment have entered his mind to cast a thought upon the future, even his hasty,

unreflecting spirit must have foreseen that the retreat of an enemy, to no greater distance than the territories of the Brigantes, gave but a feeble earnest to his country of any lasting security, or continued peace.

The social condition of the native inhabitants had undergone a complete change by the Roman invasion. From that time forward the entire population of North Britain might properly be divided into two classes—the first, *par excellence*, composed of those who set the invaders at defiance—the second, of such as were induced to submit to their authority. In the early period of the Roman dominion these latter were, we may naturally suppose, very little to be depended upon as faithful subjects of the empire; and at the first appearance of any wavering on the part of their new superiors, they would, doubtless, be ready enough, by their conduct, to confirm them in the propriety of a retreat: but in after times, when, by long occupation, the Romans had become, in a manner, domesticated in southern Scotland, the case was different; and the natives who remained within the wall of Antoninus must have become accustomed, by degrees, to regard their conquerors not only as friends, but as protectors against the marauding inroads of their independent countrymen; who, despising the Romanised Britons as renegades and slaves, came forth to plunder them whenever occasion offered.

During the half century which preceded the accession of Antoninus to the imperial throne, the people of North Britain were, probably, sufficiently unanimous in whatever attempts were then made to recover their possessions from the grasp of the invader. The crafty policy, by which the Romans so often succeeded in reducing the vanquished to a helpless servitude, had not as yet had time to develope itself in this part of the island to any extent, when the recall of Agricola, and the subsequent mal-administration of Domitian, paralysed, as is believed, the exertions of the army in Britain, and re-animated its inhabitants in various quarters with the prospect of independence. It has already been mentioned that this epoch of our history is involved in much obscurity; but the little that is known on the subject gives certainly no reason to believe that the country enjoyed, at that particular period, any continued season of repose.\*

\* Tacitus distinctly alludes to the mismanagement of affairs in Britain towards the close of the first century: in his history, B. I. C. 2, (V. *ante*, p. 82,) Murphy translates the sentence—“Britain conquered, and in the moment of conquest lost again.” These words lead to the belief that the Britons soon revolted after the recall of Agricola: while Julius Capitolinus



A continued system of hostility on the part of the natives must, of course, have arrested the progress of improvement; and while those military colonists, who had commenced the task of clearing our primeval forests, were obliged to have the sword always in hand—the usual means of Roman civilisation—the extension of roads, the cultivation of the soil, and other works of utility, must have been of necessity abandoned. It may therefore be inferred, that, amidst the turmoil and contentions in which the successors of Agricola appear to have been involved, the attention of the Roman troops must have been directed more to the immediate objects of self-defence than to any pursuits of colonial industry. They may not have been forced entirely to evacuate this part of the island; but it is probable that the soldiery of the once triumphant legions, being confined within a few places of strength, were, for a considerable length of time, compelled to abandon to their ancient proprietors the quiet possession of the surrounding forests: so that, until the death of Hadrian, the greatest part of North Britain must have remained in nearly the same condition as it had been left by the conqueror of Galgacus.

The year 140, when Lollius Urbicus assumed the government of Britain, may apparently be regarded as the date of the complete subjugation and settlement of those districts which were afterwards included in the province of VALENTIA. Determined to establish his authority on a sure foundation, he seems to have lost no time, after his arrival, in compelling the Caledonians to retire beyond the Forth, and in again taking possession of the districts which Agricola had overrun. He even flattered himself, it would seem, with the hope of reducing the whole island to obedience; for there is no doubt but that he advanced with his forces along the valley of the Earn to Strathmore, and penetrated, by the east coast, as far as the Moray Firth. Experience, however, must soon have taught him that the interior of the mountain region on his left was destined to remain the unassailable stronghold of his “barbarian” foes; and although, as is believed, he resolved to maintain possession of the country he had now traversed, by establishing garrisons within it, still he seems to have very soon become sensible that the proper security of the province

suggests the idea, in the following extract, that the Northern Tribes, at least, had met with no effectual check until the reign of Antoninus—“*nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespitatio submotis barbaris ducto*”—(Vit. Ant. Pii.) In the nature of things, this officer could not have driven back the Caledonians behind the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde, unless he had found them re-occupying the districts formerly subdued by Agricola.

was only to be insured, by placing what he might consider an impassable barrier between its more fertile regions and the mountainous country of the unconquered tribes, who, from their inaccessible retreats among the defiles of the Grampians, bade a stern defiance to his ambitious designs.

With this view, he turned his eyes to the *prætentura* raised by Agricola across the narrowest part of the island; and, satisfied with the favourable nature of that position, he set about enlarging and strengthening the forts which the troops of the former had occupied—uniting them along the entire line by means of an earthen wall or curtain, and facing the whole by that immense ditch, which for so long a period arrested the plundering forays of the Caledonian warriors. When this great bulwark was accomplished, and the southern districts placed, in consequence, in a state of safety, the pro-prætor of Antoninus may have had abundant leisure to direct his attention to the general improvement of the country. According to good authority, he retained the government of Britain for about twenty years; and as it was the Roman policy to encourage the constant employment of its soldiery, in order to prevent the evil consequences of idle habits, we may well believe, that, during the protracted command of a man, the commencement of whose undertakings was a work so gigantic as the wall of Antoninus, the progress of Roman enterprise would not be slow.

It was to Lollius Urbicus, therefore, that in all probability the *Provincia Romana* of North Britain was indebted for those improvements, which principally contributed to introduce within its limits the germs of civilised life. To the farthest extremity of his progress he carried forward those important adjuncts to all national improvement—the great military roads; which—connecting, as it were, the valleys of Perthshire with the plains of Kent—consolidated the basis of his power, and spread to their farthest limits the much vaunted glories of the Roman name. The stations of an army, which remained for so long a period undisturbed possessors of the country, must have gradually emerged from the condition of mere defensive works, and have assumed the character of fortified hamlets, or, in some cases, of colonial towns. This can hardly be questioned; for we may rest assured that the influx of camp followers—which could not fail to set in when the troops became definitively settled at any particular spot—must very soon have collected an active population around the quarters of the

military; while the wants of such an assemblage, now domiciled amid the plains of the north, would rapidly lead both to the establishment of villages, and to the cultivation of the country in their immediate vicinity. Besides this, it may be reasonably inferred, that, as that part of the natives which had succumbed to the force of circumstances became more accustomed to their new position, or more hopeless of a change, they would gradually come to associate with the Romans on friendly terms; until at length the necessity of their protection, or a preference for such a mode of life, would induce them to cluster around the precincts of the Roman stations.

Such a change—necessarily the work of time—was by no means likely to have occurred during the brief occupation of Agricola; but may very possibly have been brought about while Lollius Urbicus commanded in Britain. He must have had a large army quartered in Scotland, to overawe, so effectually as he seems to have done, the entire mass of the independent population, who were smarting under their wrongs, in the very sight, it may be said, of his outposts; as we do not learn of a single instance of their appearing in the field during the whole time of his government.

The silence of history is, it is true, an uncertain authority; but if the energy of the general in command, supported by the well-directed measures of the Imperial Government, had ever the power of retaining Britain in a state of peace, we may with propriety assume that the condition of the island was settled and flourishing at the period referred to. The greatest numbers of his forces were quartered, it is probable, along the line of the wall, and in the districts which he occupied beyond its range; but wherever garrisoned—whether in a position exposed to attack or not—the same system of improvement must have been, to a certainty, more or less pursued. The whole of Strathearn, for instance, has been traversed by durable roads, diverging generally from the great trunk line which led by Stirling and Ardoch to the Tay, and thence into Forfarshire. Here towns likewise arose, and in this territory *extra murum* were undoubtedly placed some of the most important military stations which were ever established in the country—the great majority of these can be attributed to no other than Urbicus: for when, at any former or at any subsequent period, did the Romans occupy that part of the country for a length of time sufficient to accomplish such arduous

undertakings? Never: in so far as any proof can be adduced from what we know of their occupation of Britain.

With the continuance of a settled government, the formation of good roads, the establishment of peaceable communities, and the introduction of industrious pursuits, the numbers who followed, from inclination or the hope of gain, in the wake of the legions, would gradually increase; and the influence of foreign habits must, in a corresponding degree, have spread throughout the land; and, as the Romans generally completed the overthrow of a people's independence by the annihilation of their national manners, no great lapse of time may have intervened ere the vanquished portion of our ancient tribes had submitted to the change which was destined to undermine the warlike spirit of the Gael, and to leave him a feeble dependent on the arm of the stranger. We are only made aware of this effect in the records of long after-times, when the provincial Britons trembled at the thought of their being left single-handed to oppose the fierce inroads of the Picti; but undoubtedly the seeds of their weakness, and subsequent dependence, were sown at the period when the wall of Lollius Urbicus secured them from collision with the roving bands of their more independent countrymen.

As some twenty years appear to have elapsed from the departure of Urbicus before the Caledonians made any attempt to invade the Roman province, we have thus more than forty years of peace, for the progress and completion of those changes which converted the one half of Scotland from a slightly-improved wilderness, as it was left by Agricola, into a well-supplied, if we cannot on any good authority say, a flourishing colony of the Roman empire. During this period the entire country beyond the wall had, however, been abandoned; and, from that time forward, the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde became the recognised limit of the Roman possessions. This circumstance had, we may conceive, the bad effect of completely exposing their mural defences to the attacks of the hostile tribes, whenever they might think proper to attempt an escalade; but, at the same time, it enabled the Roman governor to concentrate the forces at his disposal within limits, where they could be of the greatest service to the actual protection and progressive improvement of the cultivated districts.

By the year 180, when Commodus ascended the throne, the country between the walls of Hadrian and Antonine had, perhaps, attained to as high a state

of prosperity as it was ever destined to reach in the character of a Roman province; but so utterly silent is all history on the subject, that we are led to a knowledge of this improvement—a shadowy one at best—solely by aid of that antiquarian zeal which has, in modern times, been exerted to trace out the hidden land-marks of Roman civilisation. From the foundations of the dwellings which sheltered the northern subjects of the Cæsars—of the baths Italian luxury had reared beside them—of the harbours where the mariners of the Adriatic were wont to moor their galleys—of the granaries, the bridges, the fortifications—and, above all, from the truly Imperial roads constructed by the legions—from these, and these alone, can we attempt to form any idea of the general character of the Roman occupation. The first object of the conqueror was, no doubt, to provide for the security of the country—his second, to promote the improvement of its desert condition: for as ambition tempted him to fix his standards on what he considered the farthest limit of the world, so would his national pride incite him to subdue even the scowl of nature herself before the magic influence of the Roman name.

All that can thus be discovered, however, of the changes which followed on the disruption of the Celtic communities, refers alone to the condition of the country. Conjecture has led us to allude, on one or two occasions, to what may have been the character of the non-military population which was here settled under the *ægis* of Rome: but on this point the inquirer has no authority to guide his way; he must either avoid the subject, or else be satisfied with the probability that in this respect the one part of Britain presented, if we may so term it, a mere reflection of the other. Throughout many of the English districts, the natives, at an early period making a virtue of necessity, became, to appearance at least, perfectly resigned to the endurance of a foreign yoke: they cultivated their fields,\* tended their cattle, paid the taxes and other burdens imposed upon them; and had frequently, perhaps, no great reason to regret the change which had implanted peace, where the endless dissensions of their countrymen had formerly occasioned war. We learn from Tacitus that the aborigines of the country about Lancashire and Westmoreland

\* In Agricola's time the southern parts of the island produced abundance of corn; and he had early occasion to turn his attention to the practices of the Roman tax-gatherers, &c. who had become forestallers of that necessary of life, to the great detriment of the natives—Vit. Agr. c. 12 and 18.

had shown themselves to be ready imitators of the Roman manners, and by no means inapt scholars in mastering the lessons of luxury and indulgence which were set them by their invaders. With the aid of these instructors, they were taught to build commodious dwellings, temples, and courts of justice<sup>a</sup>—to practise the pursuit of comfort in all its varying phases—and to reap a deceitful recompense, in the gratification of those factitious wants and novel desires which spread amongst them, to banish the simplicity of their primeval habits. The tribes whose possessions were situated to the northward of the Esk could in no respect materially differ from those once free spirits, the *dispersi ac rudes*, who “coursed” the wilds through which Agricola marched in the second summer of his command. They were all members of the same great family—the blood of the nomade Asiatic affected, throughout, the dispositions of the race; and, when their last hopes of freedom had also died away, the natives of Southern Scotland yielded, in all probability, to the influence of foreign example—much in the same manner as had been done by their kinsmen the Brigantes and others.

From the imposing amount of the native forces who were opposed to the Romans in the battle of the Grampians, it would appear that a considerable proportion of the population had retired to the North on the advance of Agricola; as a retreat into the fastnesses of the Caledonian forest was then the only method by which their independence could be secured. The same measures were doubtless had recourse to by a great majority of the armed bands which Lollius Urbicus drove before him; and this desertion of the invaded portion of the country, by numerous parties of its boldest inhabitants, left the Romans, we may presume, but a scanty population over which to extend the influence of their reinstated authority. The very weakness and deserted condition, however, of those who remained, would lead them to submit the more readily to the influence of change; until the doubly-vanquished Damnian, as he became inured to a sense of bondage, and habituated to the comforts of a settled life, forgot the “viewless freedom” of his early days, and made common cause with the once-hated foe.

In this part of the island, as in England, the provincial population was probably increased, not only by the influx of a motley race, like the camp

<sup>a</sup> “*Hortari privatim, adjuvare publicè, ut templa, fora, domus extruerunt.*”—Vit. Agric. c. 21.

followers of modern armies, who located themselves in the neighbourhood of the Roman garrisons; but also by a much more valuable body of settlers—the discharged soldiers of the legions. It was the Roman practice to promote the establishment of their retiring veterans in the countries which they had conquered, and where they had been long stationed, by conferring on them many grants and privileges, which tended to attach them to the scenes amongst which their best years had been spent. As those pensioners of the state might be expected to become in general the heads of families, which, in the aggregate, would form a nursery for the future recruitment of the colonial armies,\* a measure so conducive to the secure establishment of Roman authority was not likely to be neglected in this, one of the most distant and most carefully defended provinces of the Empire. In this view it may be easily imagined, that, even by the close of the first century, some portion at least of the disbanded veterans had been induced to settle in North Britain; but of all that regards their probable numbers, or the particular degree of influence which their domestication produced on the condition of the country, nothing is known. Could the veil, however, be withdrawn, how crowded with interest to the antiquarian world would be the most transient glance, which might expose to view the actual state of our island population, as it existed in those days of old!

While lingering, “loth to part,” among the fast-disappearing remains of the distant past, our thoughts naturally wander, at times, from camp and fortalice and “battled wall,” to form an idea of the probable character and condition of the people who lived around them, when those shapeless mounds on which we tread, teemed with the bustle of martial life and glittered with the silver ensigns “*Valentis Victricis*.”<sup>b</sup> We cannot stand on the barren site of the ancient colonial towns without contrasting the present with the past, and attempting, if imaginatively disposed, to form a mental picture of the state of affairs throughout the land, when the scenes before us were covered with their places of abode, and enlivened by the presence of a stirring popu-

\* The Roman soldier was not permitted to marry until a service of twenty-eight years or upwards entitled him to a discharge; and even then his union with any but a Roman citizen was illegal, unless contracted by special permission of the Emperor. In the reign of Antoninus, however, the provincial Britons were all made citizens of the empire.—Gough's *Camd.* III. 29.

<sup>b</sup> The inscriptions reared by the 20th Legion, “*Valens Victrix*.”—See Chap. IV. Wall of Antoninus.

lation. The matter-of-fact antiquary may look down on all such speculative fancies as mere air-bubbles, which float on the deep current of his beloved stream; but let, for instance, the candid reader divest the mouldering ruin of the interest which it borrows from scenes of former chivalry or love, and who would turn aside from his way, to muse upon the nodding buttress and the shattered wall? The era of the Roman age in Britain lies far beyond the ken of any such interest as attaches to the baronial times of Caerlaverock and Warwick; but it is not altogether an inanimate void to those who incline to regard the withered bones of antiquity as other than mere curious dust—remarkable only as so many relics which have cheated the tooth of Time.

It was stated, some pages back, that the greater part of the Roman military works, in this part of the island, were in all probability completed before the close of the second century—perhaps by the time when the Emperor Commodus assumed the reins of government, in the year 180. The important causewayed roads, for example—the main lines of which entered Scotland, the one on the eastern, the other on the western side of the island—formed regular continuations northward of the great Roman thoroughfares, which passed along the intervening country from the distant banks of the Thames. These were not of a description to have been executed by the rear divisions of an invading army; nor even by the whole army united, whilst any appearance of an enemy was visible around it. They formed evidently the principal objects of public utility, to which the attention of the Roman commander was directed, when the Caledonians had been compelled to retire to a convenient distance, and when the evils of inaction threatened to assail his troops. We find the vestiges of those most durable roads existing, identically the same, from the Solway Firth to Strathearn, and even beyond the Tay. Now unless it is to be supposed that the Roman causeways, to the north of the wall of Antoninus, were formed at an earlier period than those within the more settled districts which it was raised to protect, we must believe the leading *Vie*, throughout the country generally, to have been constructed while the Roman authority was extended in full force over all the various localities in which their vestiges exist. As continuations of the trunk-lines which led through England, they were no doubt pushed northward by degrees, in proportion as the gradual settlement of the conquered province favoured the progress of improvement. The security which arose from a maintenance of peace was



necessary, before the temporary roads of Agricola could be transformed into those enduring highways, which, a century after his invasion, made it an easy matter to cross the swamps, and to penetrate the forests of North Britain; and that security must have been firmly established, to a considerable distance beyond the Tay, at the period when those improvements were carried to their greatest height.

According, indeed, to every existing authority, it would appear evident that the Romans had bestowed a great amount of labour on this—one of the poorest of their many conquests—during the first twenty or thirty years which had elapsed from the time of its first occupation by the army under Lollius Urbicus; and that, in fine, not a few of their most important labours beyond the Tyne had been accomplished prior to the year 170—about which time, it is supposed, they had found it necessary to withdraw their troops within the frontier of what afterwards became the province of VALENTIA, and almost totally to abandon the country northward of the wall of Antoninus: nor, in so far as is now known, did a Roman force ever again occupy the districts of Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, and those adjacent, for any considerable period. The expedition of Severus, as elsewhere stated, was merely the transient inroad of an incensed destroyer—undertaken rather to punish the people than to assume possession of the country; and, after his reign, the Caledonian Britons appear to have been allowed to remain undisturbed within the fastnesses of our modern Highlands. Hence arises the opinion, that, previous to the age of Commodus, so much had been done to improve the general condition of this part of the island, and to complete its means of defence as a frontier colony of the empire.

From the early part of the third century, until their final departure from Britain, the Romans in occupation of the province between the walls of Severus and Antonine had frequent occasion to keep themselves on the alert against the daring mountaineers; who, being once warmed with the excitement which attended the storming of the protecting barriers, and the pillaging of the Roman colonists, were ever ready, when an opportunity presented itself, to make common cause in a plundering expedition. The wrongs of their fathers too were unredressed; and the desire of gain received, no doubt, a powerful impetus from incitements of patriotic revenge—as, watching the moment of favourable promise, the restless *Picti* sent forth

their battle-cry, and poured like a torrent over some unguarded portion of the great wall, upon the startled inhabitants within its bounds. From the frequent removals of troops to the southern part of the island, and to the provinces of Gaul, the mutinous conduct of the soldiery as the Empire sank into decay, and from various other causes, those inroads of the native tribes became at times exceedingly frequent: so much so, indeed, that for many successive years the citizens of Rome who inhabited the province of Valentia must have been constrained to congregate for safety in the fortified towns, and to live in a state of continual alarm. Occasional intervals of peace may no doubt have occurred, when some particular general, more energetic than another, was commissioned to restore the Roman authority in this distant province; but the ever-recurring subversion, under the fading *prestige* of the Roman name, of whatever individual prowess was at times enabled to establish, cannot but have gradually put an entire stop to every kind of improvement. The country, or whatever part of it had been cleared and cultivated, was, in all probability, again allowed to run wild; and it seems by no means too much to assume, that, in the later periods of the Roman dominion in Scotland, the greatest portion of the colonial population was gathered together in towns; a weak, and, as we know, an enervated race—clinging for protection to the callous soldiery who were quartered amongst them—that soldiery no longer the well-disciplined supporters of an all-powerful throne, but a band of factious mercenaries, who too often disgraced the arms they bore.

It may truly be said, that the germ of their decline showed itself in that hour when the armies of Rome had recourse to walls and ditches as a means of protection to the frontiers of their empire. The leader who taught his followers to trust in any other bulwarks than that of their own shields—who placed a check between their swords and a free contact with the foe—struck, unconsciously, at that daring of character and self-confidence of spirit which made the Roman legions what they became—the conquerors of the world—when, among the sons of men, the light of military glory was all in all. The means thus found necessary to be employed, in keeping ward along an exposed extent of country, were no doubt sufficiently agreeable to the soldier himself; and, when once introduced, we may believe that every attention would be paid to maintain their efficiency. Much labour must, accordingly, have been devoted, from time to time, in repairing the ravages committed by the Cale-

donians on the wall of Antoninus. The first object apparently aimed at, when some fresh accession of force enabled the Roman troops to repel the assailants, was the reparation of that defence; and this was frequently effected on an extensive scale, from the third to the commencement of the fifth century. At the same time, nothing was forgotten that might suffice to protect the province in general from the attacks of an enemy. To the latest period of their abode in the country, the forts and other strongholds of the Romans were probably maintained in a most efficient state of repair—their defences being the more carefully attended to, as the numbers of the defenders diminished, or as the ancient spirit of the legions declined. Exposed, as they often found themselves, to the fierce assaults of an enemy who gained in daring in proportion as the difficulty of driving him back into his mountain holds increased, the soldiers of the middle and lower empire could regard their occupation of North Britain as leading only to a harassing kind of outpost duty; in which, notwithstanding the shelter afforded by their protecting wall, it was imperative on every garrison—wherever situated—to be always on the alert, as they became ultimately exposed to attack both by sea and by land. In such a state of things, the idea of undertaking any works of improvement must have been entirely abandoned, or left to the inhabitants of the towns; by whom, most probably, the roads were kept up in a serviceable state, and such other matters attended to as were absolutely necessary for the common advantage.

Be this as it may, the remains of “labours done” in Roman times, which still exist in Scotland, depend but little for the interest which attaches to them on the particular eras which may have witnessed their progress. They linger, as it were, amongst us, to connect our modern seats of advancing industry with the name, the energy, and the enterprise of ancient Rome, and to contrast the once all-predominant influence of military greatness with the spirit which accompanies, to better purpose, the progress of a nation’s moral advancement, and that spread of higher civilisation called the march of mind.

## SECTION II.

### TOWNS & PRINCIPAL MILITARY STATIONS POSSESSED BY THE ROMANS TO THE NORTH OF SEVERUS'S WALL.

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SUPPOSING that we had before us a map of ancient Scotland, on which was delineated a representation of the various military works erected by the Romans in this part of the island, and of the general improvements which were introduced during the government of a civilised people—and supposing that we directed our attention to this topographical guide, with the view of setting forth upon a ramble among the existing vestiges of those pictured memorials of ancient enterprise, and of attempting to record the *memorabilia* of the way on something like a systematic plan—we should, no doubt, readily discover that this might be tolerably well accomplished by arranging the whole into one or two principal divisions,—this embracing, for instance, a view of the Towns, Permanent Stations, *Castella*, Temporary Camps, and whatever more immediately concerned the military establishments of the Roman forces; and that, being devoted to a description of their Highways, and of all that was properly connected with these important works. Something of this plan, therefore, we now propose to follow; and although it may not, on all occasions, be practicable, without encumbering the narrative, to draw the line of distinction between one class of antiquities and another; still it is to be hoped that such an arrangement will, on the whole, sufficiently meet the object in view. To the other divisions we have, however, considered it proper to add a separate chapter, which is confined to a description of the wall of Antoninus Pius, and of the numerous remains of antiquity discovered along its course. The important character of that great undertaking, coupled with the interest which attaches

to it as a mine, if it may be so called, of antiquarian wealth, clearly point out the propriety of devoting a distinctive portion of the volume to an inquiry into its annals, and a passing glance at its present condition.

Under those several heads, it will be possible enough to introduce everything worthy of notice, with regard to the most interesting remains of the Roman period—the Inscriptions, Weapons, Coins, &c. which have been here brought to light, from amid the buried ashes of an ambition, for which the world itself seemed at one time too confined. To attempt their arrangement in any separate classified form, would most probably be far from acceptable to the general reader; they can indeed be more interestingly referred to in connection with the several localities in which they have been found: and we have accordingly introduced the descriptions of such discoveries, as opportunities offered, among the various sub-divisions of the chapter before us. With these few remarks we proceed to our task, diffident enough, although it is a mere matter of compilation, of our ability to do it justice; but, taking “heart of grace,” in the hope that the indulgent spirit of the venerable Camden still sheds some share of its influence over the temperament of his modern disciples. Scotland, it may be observed, can exhibit none of those remains of architectural grandeur such as are elsewhere so proudly referred to, in connection with the Roman era; but she is comparatively rich in the vestiges of those military works, by the aid of which the Imperial Legions made good their tenure of the soil; and, in so far as implied associations go, to cast an interest over the crumbling wrecks of a classic age, the heath-clad plains of the North may justly vie with many of the most important seats of Roman dominion in France and Spain. On the steps of the temple, or in the gateway of the camp, the imaginative pilgrim stands equally within the magic sphere where those unseen “familiar” love to work, who crowd his dreamy vision, as it is somewhere expressed, with those images of his boyish admiration which typify the patriotism and the grandeur of ancient Rome, and exalt before him that “mirror of old Time,” in which

“Her gods and god-like heroes rise to view,  
And all her faded garlands bloom anew.”

There is good reason to believe, as formerly mentioned, that the several classes of provincial towns, which sprung up in this country under the influence of Italian civilisation, derived their origin, in general, from that security which was

most certainly to be found in the neighbourhood of the stations occupied by the soldiery of the legions and their auxiliary allies. As it seems probable, therefore, that those towns were all placed, more or less, under military protection, and perhaps inclosed by regular fortifications,\* we have thought proper to class them with the *Castra Hyberna*<sup>b</sup> in general, or places of strength, which formed so many garrison-holds for the various subdivisions of the Roman army. It is now indeed, with one or two exceptions, impossible to decide, with any degree of certainty, on which of the respective stations mentioned by the ancient geographers we should confer the appellation of towns, in contradistinction to such as were merely permanent camps established on the lines of the principal highways. In the majority of instances, the only vestiges which remain, to mark the site of either class, are to be discovered in the broken outline of some few protecting ramparts, or in the occasional exposure of massive stone foundations, inscriptions, coins, and other relics. These memorials, however valuable in a general sense, convey no such information as tends to throw any particular light upon the subject; and so many ages have elapsed since the spirit of Roman energy directed the progress of improvement in North Britain, that we need not be surprised if the entire fabric of its creation has well nigh crumbled into dust, leaving but the shadow of a wreck behind: nor can we now expect to find more than the faintest traces of the external changes which were introduced during the continuance of Roman authority in this country. From the work of Ptolemy, who flourished, it is supposed, during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, we derive the names of a considerable number of places in this part of the island—many of them, no doubt, towns of some consequence, while others were probably mere fortresses—placed at convenient distances from each other; and forming either desirable stages for the wayfarer through our ancient forests, or, when situated on the sea-coast, becoming places of rendezvous for the Roman fleets. But although the actual localities of several of these stations can be pretty well ascertained, it is only in one or two cases, as previously stated, that the antiquary can be certain of his ground, when he would direct the attention of the stranger to any of the ascertained spots where the Romanised Caledonians

\* v. Whittaker's *Manchester*, I. 203.

<sup>b</sup> This designation applies equally to the towns where troops were quartered, as to their winter camps—v. Roy's *Milit. Antiq.* p. 42.

had reared their habitations, and practised the arts of peace; andw here, aided perhaps by their allies—the imported colonists—they had learned to indulge in the comforts and the luxuries of civilised life.

But if it be a matter of some regret that the march of time has been so powerful to destroy; and that almost all vestiges of the towns, which sprung up into existence during the Roman occupation of Scotland, had disappeared before the love of antiquarian research became so general with our countrymen as it has since done; still we have cause—as not altogether callous to their enthusiasm—to be in a manner grateful, that, amid the general destruction, some few wrecks have withstood the storm; and especially that it is yet possible to discover, by their existing remains, the actual position of so many of the stations of Roman Scotland, which are laid down by him who employed his talents, some seventeen centuries ago, to enlighten the world with a knowledge of his favourite study. But in alluding to such particular localities as appear to have been the seats of an urban population, it must be remarked, that we only make mention of those amongst them about which no doubts can, in this respect, be properly entertained. There is every probability that many of the permanent military stations to which we shall have occasion to refer, were once the centre of a populous neighbourhood; with buildings of various kinds, Dwelling-houses, Baths, *Sacella*,\* and such like, clustered round them. But where all have perished, save the earthen rampart and its encircling ditch—where nothing of a positive nature but these has ever met the eye of the keenest inquirer—we must be content to sacrifice all such conjectures to the simple fact, that they cannot be supported on any sure foundation. Although it may, therefore, be our fortune to stand on the undoubted site of some of the chief stations, whose names and positions have been recorded by Ptolemy, and his emendator Richard, we have no means of deriving, either from the past or present, any actual knowledge of their former condition; and, excepting in the cases of those which chance has in some degree been more forward to preserve, they can be regarded only in the light of detached fortresses, distinguished from each other solely by a difference in size and comparative strength.

While alluding to the above geographic writers, it may not be improper to remark, for the information of those readers whose attention may have been otherwise engaged than in “dallying” with the stray leaves of antiquity, that,

\* The smaller temples or chapels of the Roman deities.

amongst the various details relating to this island, which have descended to us from the brazen age of Roman literature, there are two or three documents which possess an exclusive kind of interest, as presenting us, on a systematic plan, with lists of the different towns or military stations, throughout certain parts of the country, during the period of its occupation by the Imperial armies. Unfortunately, however, with the exception of Ptolemy, none of the authors of those early *Itinera* seem to have thought it necessary to extend their researches to any great distance beyond the Southern wall; consequently, as the course of our inquiries recedes from its vicinity, we lose the advantage of their directing light. For this loss, however, we may be said to be in some measure compensated by the discovery, in the year 1757, of the MS. History and Map of Roman Britain, composed during the early part of the fourteenth century, by the English monk Richard of Cirencester.\* This production has apparently been drawn up with much attention to accuracy, from sources of information now lost; and, coupled with the work of the Alexandrian geographer, it forms the best Itinerary of Roman Scotland that exists. Considerable information of no slight value may also be derived, on the subject, from the writings of Gildas, Bede, and Nennius—men who, in a barren age, relieved the tedium of monastic seclusion by devoting their talents to the advancement of knowledge; but as they have preserved the Saxo-British and not the Roman names of the places they describe, we must often follow them, when compelled to have recourse to their guidance, involved in much uncertainty and doubt. Besides the productions of Ptolemy and Richard, there exists another work on the ancient geography of Britain, which relates to a great portion of the Northern, as well as to the Southern part of the island. It is known by the name of the Ravenna Tables, from the belief that it was compiled by an inhabitant of that city, probably during the third or fourth century. This Itinerary is, however, regarded as of little value, owing to the confused manner in which it is arranged, and the barbarous corruption as well as apparent inaccuracy of its nomenclature. But for the preservation of those works, the map of Roman Britain must have been a meagre one indeed; yet, with all their assistance, there are many instances in which the proper application of ancient names to ancient places remains a matter of considerable speculation. On this subject it will occasion-

\* v. Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 118.



ally be necessary to say a few words as we proceed. Meanwhile, to return from this digression, and to resume our "errant way," we shall, in the first instance, confine ourselves to an examination of the principal Roman stations which existed on the western side of the province of VALENTIA; including those situated in an opposite direction, which appear to have been more immediately connected with the great line of road that led from Carlisle to Dumbarton, by the steeps of Annandale and the vale of Clyde; after which the reader will perhaps grant us his company in a ramble to a few spots, noted of old, within the eastern counties, from Tyne to Forth; from which, crossing the now scarcely perceptible wall of Antoninus, we shall subsequently endeavour to pick up some information regarding those of the Roman garrison-posts which lay on or about the borders of the Caledonian forest.

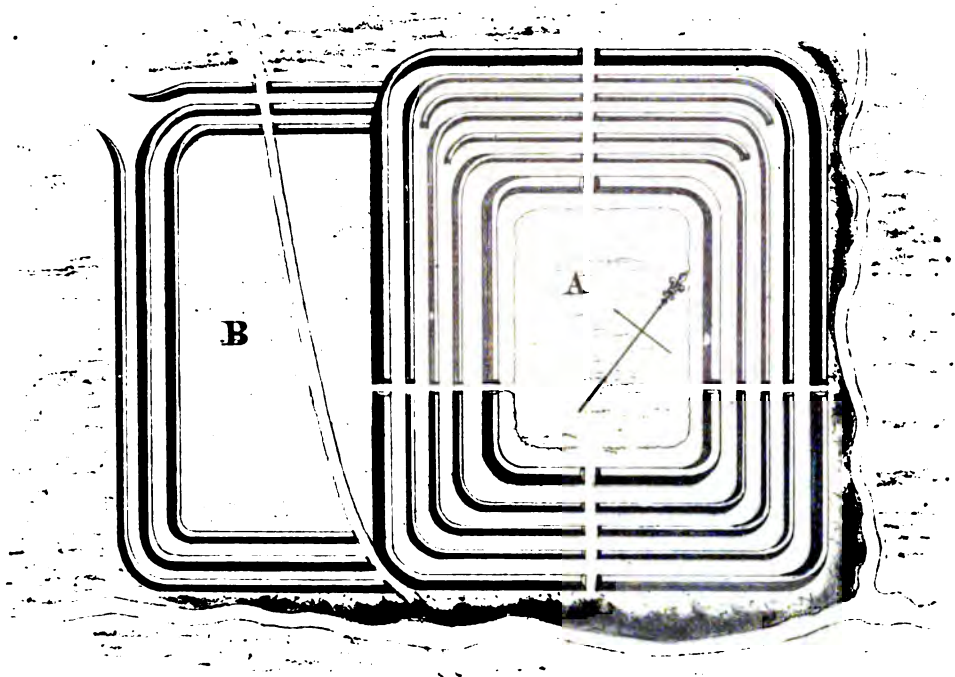
With the *Prætentura* of Severus we have no particular concern; they belong to the antiquities of England, and as such lie beyond the sphere of our inquiries. The same may be said of those Roman forts which were placed between the shores of the Solway Firth and the western termination of the English wall: and as none of the latter are of sufficient importance to tempt us to a deviation from the intended route, we may, without farther preface, direct our footsteps to the banks of the diminutive river Sark, which here separates the two kingdoms. On proceeding thence, in a westerly direction, we reach, at the distance of about eight miles on the road to Lockerby, the indistinct remains of the first important Roman stronghold to be met with in the south-west of Scotland.

BIRRENS. } This is the strongly entrenched double camp of Birrens,  
 situated at a short distance to the south of Middleby  
 Kirk, upon a level piece of ground, bounded on the one side by the  
 Haughill burn, and on the other by the water of Mein. To all appearance  
 there had originally been only one inclosed fort at this place, to which an  
 outer-work or *Procestrium* had been afterwards added. The accompanying  
 outline of these works, in a restored form, will afford some idea of their  
 original construction.\* (See PLATE I.)

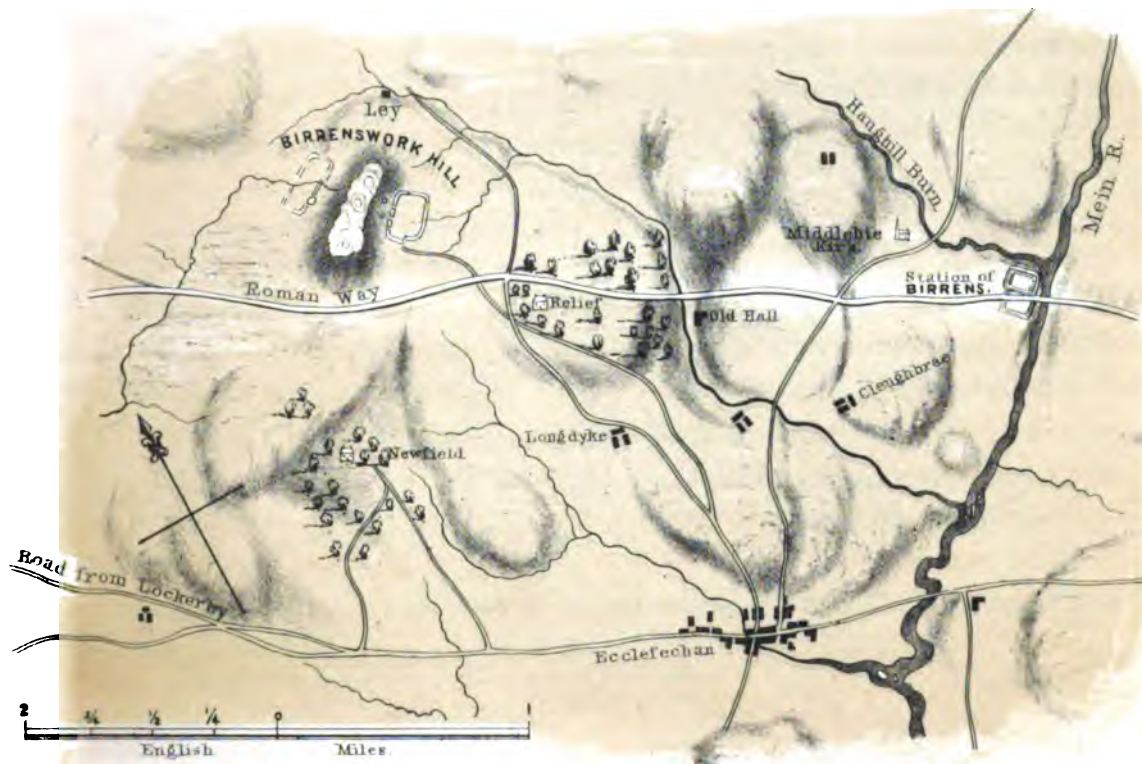
The interior area of the principal division of the station, indicated by the letter A, measured about 500 by 340 feet.<sup>b</sup> It was defended on two sides, if

\* This plan has been chiefly copied from Gen. Roy's survey of the station.

<sup>b</sup> Gordon makes it 462 by 349 feet—*Itin. Sept.* p. 18.



PLAN OF THE ROMAN STATION WHICH EXISTED AT BIRRENS—ITS FORM RESTORED.



RELATIVE POSITION OF THE ROMAN STATIONS AT BIRRENS AND BIRRENSWORK HILL.



not on three, by a succession of five ramparts and four ditches, which were increased at the northern end to seven of the one and six of the other—the two streams which flowed past it forming, as it were, a fifth *fossé* or moat to the exterior walls, facing the south and east. It has had four entrances directly opposite to each other, and the remains of stone buildings have been discovered within the entrenchments. The winter torrents of the Mein have, however, made sad havoc with the greater part of the work; and, with little respect for those ancient mounds which brought many a pilgrim to its banks, the brawling stream has, on two sides, undermined the foundations, and precipitated their crumbling *debris* into the waters of the Annan. The outer entrenchment, marked B on the plan, abutted on the west side of the principal camp, and was crossed obliquely by the Roman Way to Clydesdale. It required, of course, to be fortified on three sides only, and was probably nearly as well protected as the former; but the genius of destruction has extended his ravages on the defences of this *Procestrium* even more decisively, if possible, than on those of the original station; and the actual number of its walls has never, in consequence, been accurately ascertained. On the south side of the principal fort, a large vault arched with stone was laid open more than a century ago.\* Such vaults are very common in the neighbourhood of the Roman permanent camps, and they appear to have been used as magazines for the preservation of grain or other supplies. The one at Birrens contained nothing but rubbish; we shall by and bye have occasion, however, to refer to some others of those subterranean apartments, to which a higher degree of interest may properly be attached.

In the immediate vicinity of the camp at Birrens, have likewise been discovered the vestiges of stone buildings, including the remains of a public bath, and a small receptacle containing some wheat. Amongst the other remains of antiquity found in the place, we find early mention made of several coins, including a gold medal of Constantius Chlorus,<sup>b</sup> who ascended the throne towards the end of the third century; and a large brass coin of Germanicus Cæsar, the nephew of Tiberius—bearing on the obverse his figure, holding in

\* Gordon, p. 18—Pennant says that this vault was 120 feet long, and that it had been entirely destroyed for the sake of the building materials, before he visited the place in 1772—*v.* Second Tour.

<sup>b</sup> Stated in Horsley (p. 341) to have been struck on one side only.

his left hand a legionary standard; and on the reverse, a *quadriga* with his name within it, encircled by the legend "Germania Devicta"—also a seal, set in gold, representing the figure of a female dancing, with her right hand grasping a serpent.<sup>a</sup> But all these may be regarded as objects of secondary interest, compared with the Statuary and Inscriptions brought to light at the same spot. Of these, the first is a full-length figure, supposed to represent the goddess BRIGANTIA. It was found in the year 1732, within the outer camp at Birrens, among the ruins of a building believed to have been a temple. This statue stood within a niche, was winged at the shoulders, and armed with a helmet encircled by a mural crown, over which was wreathed an olive branch. In her right hand she held a spear and shield, in her left a globe, and on her breast appeared the representation of a Gorgon's head.<sup>b</sup> (See PLATE II. FIG. 3.) The stone on which she stood was inscribed with these words:—

"BRIGANTIAE S. AMANDVS  
ARCHITECTVS EX IMPERIO IMP. I."

According to the learned antiquary Mr. Gale,<sup>c</sup> the contractions ought to be understood thus:—

"BRIGANTIAE SACRUM AMANDVS  
ARCHITECTUS EX IMPERIO IMPERATORIS JULIANI."

*"To Brigantia, Amandus the architect<sup>d</sup> (erected<sup>e</sup> this statue) by orders of the Emperor Julian."*

From its general appearance, many were inclined to believe that this figure represented Minerva; others that it was meant either for a Victory, or a hybrid personification of several deities in one.<sup>e</sup> It no doubt appears before us arrayed in many of the symbols usually bestowed on Pallas; the helmet, the spear and shield, the branch of olive, and the Gorgon's head, are all, when thus conjoined, peculiarly her own—especially the last, as we gather from the

<sup>a</sup> Gough's Camd. III. 323 and 324—Pennant's Second Tour—Gordon's Itin. p. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, p. 341.

<sup>c</sup> In his opinion Mr. Horsley very much coincides—Britan. p. 341.

<sup>d</sup> It may also be read, *designer* or *inventor*.

<sup>e</sup> Horsley, pp. 341, 353—Gough's Camd. III. 323.

labours of the Cyclops, whose employment it was to forge the darts of Jove—to repair the arms of Mars—and

“To refresh the scaly snakes that fold  
The shield of Pallas, and renew their gold;  
Full on the crest the Gorgon’s head they place,  
With eyes that roll in death, and with distorted face.”<sup>a</sup>

The wings and globe alone may be said to belong to Victory; the mural crown remains unclaimed: but perhaps, after all, this may be none other than BRIGANTIA herself<sup>b</sup>—an original deity, probably of the Brigantes, whom the Romans had thought proper to adopt, and to introduce among the *Divi* of their Pantheon. It is well known that the Emperor Julian, after apostatising from Christianity, became exceedingly anxious to restore the ascendancy of the old religion, prosecuting his intentions by granting every facility to the re-erection of temples and statues in honour of the somewhat neglected gods of his ancestors. His bitter hatred against the murderers of his father and the new order of priests, with whom he leagued them as professors of the same faith, was constantly visible in the support which he everywhere gave to the pagan forms of worship. It seems, therefore, by no means improbable that, among his other donations of this nature, there should be found the image of Brigantia presented to the garrison of Birrens; and we may well believe that the desire for such objects would be very soon felt in many quarters of the empire, when it became known to the army that their wish to possess them was favourably heard of at the court of Cæsar. This

<sup>a</sup> Dryden’s *Virgil*, VIII, 575, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Camden takes notice of an inscription found in Yorkshire bearing the words “*Dæe Nymphæ Brig.*” which Mr. Gale imagined might refer to the same goddess. It is perhaps more probable that the dedication was addressed to the “*Dæe Nymphæ*” of the Brigantes, meaning the Tribe of that name (*v. Hors.* 353). This important Sept appears to have been originally settled in the district now forming the counties of York and Durham. Becoming more powerful than their neighbours, they, about the beginning of the Christian era, invaded the territories of their kinsmen the people of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, and took possession of their country. When Agricola led his forces against them, they occupied a far greater extent of territory than any other of the native clans, and consequently their name and influence were very widely spread.—*Tacit. Vit. Agric. c.* 17.—*Whit. Man.* I. 6 & 8. The word “Britain,” as well as the appellation “Brigantes,” is supposed by some to be derived from the term “Brestin” or “Brydain”—denoting, in Celtic, separation or division—applied to the earliest colonists who passed over to this island from Gaul, and who were in consequence called “the removed,” “the separated,” from those who remained in the old country.—*Whit.* I, 9. This is, however, a much-contested point. Sir William Betham infers that it was synonymous with the word *Pict*, and meant “painted” or “stained.”—*Etymologia Celtica*, I. 12.

statue, when discovered, bore some appearance of having been ornamented with gilding.

About the year 1730 two additional stones were dug up within the camp at Birrens, both of them containing inscriptions dedicated to Mercury; who is said to have been the favourite deity of Julian.<sup>a</sup> One is a votive altar, of a description we shall often meet with, on the sides of which are sculptured the *Patera* and *Simpulum*, instruments used in sacrifice, accompanied by the figure of a Roman eagle; in front, the legend announces that Julius Cerealis Censorinus, image-maker of the College of the *Ligniferi*, had dedicated it to the god Mercury, willingly performing his vow; so at least has it been understood by more than one of our most eminent antiquaries. Here are the words, as extended by Mr. Ward:<sup>b</sup>—

“DEO MERCURIO JULIUS CERREALIS CENSORINUS SIGILLARIUS COLLEGII LIGNIFERORUM  
CULTORUM EJUS DE SUO DEDIT—VOTUM SOLVENS LIBENS MERITO.”<sup>c</sup>

(See PLATE II. FIG. 4.)

The *Ligniferi* are supposed to have been either a religious order of persons, similar to the Greek *Dendrophori*, who carried boughs at the festivals of the gods; or else a particular fraternity, which enjoyed the above designation from the circumstance of it being a part of their duty (an honoured one we may believe) to provide firewood for the purposes of sacrifice. The man who fabricated the statues of the gods under such patronage may possibly have been a person of no trifling importance; justly entitled perhaps to transmit his name and occupation to posterity, although little dreaming, we may be sure, of the vast distance to which they should be floated down upon the stream of time. It was apparent that the second of these stones had formed the pedestal of a statue; and, some two years after its discovery, the mutilated remains of a colossal figure were brought forth from their “bed of ages” at Birrens, to which it was supposed the inscription referred. It was of a very large size, and had measured, when entire, not less than about twenty-six feet in height: the form of its base is said to have proved its connection with the pedestal in question; so much, however, had it been defaced, that but for this circumstance it would have been impossible to say for what

<sup>a</sup> Amm. Marcellinus, XVI. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Letter to Mr. Horsley, Dec. 1731. This altar is now in the possession of Sir George Clerk, Bart. at Penicuik House, Edinburghshire.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Gough gives a somewhat different reading—Camd. Brit. III. 323.

it had been intended; head, hands, and feet were alike gone, and the trunk and limbs alone remained, in all the plenitude of their giant proportions.<sup>a</sup> On the pedestal which had supported it, is the following inscription:<sup>b</sup>—

NUMENI AUGUSTI DEO MERCURIO  
SIGNUM POSUERUNT CULTORES  
COLLEGIUM LIGNIFERORUM EJUSDEM  
DEI CURANTE INGENUO RUFO  
VOTUM SOLVERUNT LIBENTES MERITO

*To the tutelar divinity of the Emperor,  
the god Mercury, the worshippers in  
the College of the Ligniferi placed  
this image of the said god, under the  
superintendence of Ingenuus Rufus,  
having willingly performed their vow.*

(See PLATE II. FIG. 5.)

It is often difficult to give a proper translation of those inscriptions, when examined with a due attention to the grammatical construction of the Latin language; the most learned among our classical scholars have been at times puzzled with them; nor is this at all surprising, when we consider that, in the majority of instances, they were in all probability the production of illiterate men. We possess nothing in this country of that elegant and finished sculpture, with which the professional artist of other times adorned the gorgeous architecture of Italy. Our Altars, Tablets, and Statues are the works of comparatively unpractised hands—the *attachés* of a camp, or the craftsmen of a rude province, of whom could neither be expected much purity of language nor artistic skill. Look at the home-taught sculptors of the present age, the fruits of whose labour meet the eye in many a nook and corner of the land, and suppose them to have laboured for the scholar of a thousand years hence, who should approach the productions of their hands, versant with Lindley Murray, Addison, or Pope—and you have a tolerable idea of the position in which the modern student not unfrequently finds himself, when he happens to turn his attention to the Roman inscriptions which have been discovered in Britain. Amongst other difficulties to be met with—such as obsolete or provincial words, blunders in orthography, and sentences of an ungrammatical character<sup>c</sup>—the frequent contractions made use of by the artists,

<sup>a</sup> Gough's Camd. III. 333.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, Scot. No. XXXVI. The above-mentioned stone is about 28 inches high. We give the inscription at length.

<sup>c</sup> To notice a few—we have, for instance, *Aquis* for *Eques*—*Dæ* for *Deæ*—*e* (often) for *æ*—*Memoria* for *Monumentum*—*Vicrit* for *Vixit*—*Lieg.* for *Legio*—*Votum* for the thing vowed, &c.—See Hors. in c. 15, and Gruteri Corpus Inscriptionum, V. II. pt. 2, for a long list of similar errors.



have contributed no little share to the uncertainty which in many instances obscures their signification. It would be tiresome to dilate on this subject—we shall, however, return to it when anything occurs worthy of particular notice, as regards the deciphering of our ancient inscriptions. It may be observed, in passing, that the above remarks apply in some degree to the altar and pedestal discovered at Birrens; but although one or two alterations have been proposed in the readings, none of them materially affect the import of the translations as we have given them; and it therefore seems unnecessary to dwell upon the subject.

The following, reported to have been likewise found at Birrens, we here introduce as they were copied by Pennant.\*

Three altars, inscribed respectively—

DEAE HARIMEL  
LAE SACGA  
MIDIAHVS  
ARCKVSLLE

(PLATE I. FIG. 1.)

DEAE VIRADES  
THLPAGVS CON  
DEVSTIS MILI  
IN COH II TVN  
GR. SVB SIVO  
AVSPICE PR  
AEFE.

(PLATE II. FIG. 2.)

FORTVNAE  
COHI NER  
M.GER.EQVI

We can make almost nothing of the first: it has been the fruit of a vow *most* cheerfully performed, and was dedicated seemingly to some goddess named HARIMELLA; the remainder is considered unintelligible.

With some few alterations—and considerable allowance made for the errors that may occur in deciphering those time-worn legends—the second may be translated somewhat as follows:—*To the goddess (or deified) . . . , Thiasus Pagus Condrustus, a soldier of the Second Cohort of the Tungrian Auxiliaries, commanded by Sivus Auspicius, Præfect, (dedicates this altar.)* We are at a loss to discover the meaning of the word “VIRADES:” perhaps it has been erroneously copied, and ought to be read DRYADES or OREADES; in which case the difficulty vanishes, and we have here the German soldier offering up his vows to a particular and perhaps tutelary class of the “*Deæ Nymphae*.” The third is inscribed to Fortune, by the first cohort of the Nervii, auxiliaries drafted from Belgic Gaul.

\* The Genii who were believed to preside over rivers and mountains.

1.



2.



3.



4.

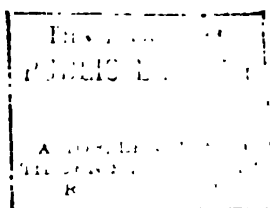


5.



6.





To these may be added the lower part of a small statue of Fortune, standing on a pedestal, and thus inscribed:—

FORTVNAE R  
SALVTE P. CAM  
ITALICI PRAEF CO  
TVN CELER LIBER  
—LLM

FORTUNAE REDUCI PRO  
SALUTE P. CAMMI  
ITALICI, PRAEFECTI COHORTIS—  
TUNGRORUM, CELER  
LIBERTUS, VOTUM SOLVIT  
LIBENTISSIMO MERITO

Which may be translated—*To returned fortune, in gratitude for the restored health of P. Cammius Italicus, Praefect of the ... cohort of the Tungrians, Celer the freed man [dedicates this], most willingly performing his vow.\**

(See PLATE II. FIG. 6.)

Another stone is said to have been found at or near Birrens, which refers to the same "Tungrii:" it bears an epitaph to the memory of Ordinatus, most likely one of their Tribunes, who was probably interred at this station, and had been erected by his widow, as we learn from the inscription:—

DIIS MANIBUS AVVTIANO BASSI ORDINATO Tribuno COHORTIS II  
TUNGROrum FLAVIA BÆTICA CONIVNX FACIENDum CVRAVIT<sup>b</sup>

Also a stone tablet, inscribed—

IMP. CAESARI TRAIAN HADRIAN LEG. SECVND AVG.

A piece of another, with the words—

LEG. XX. VICT.

And likewise a tomb-stone, dedicated to the Shade of Pervica, by her mother Julia:—

D. M. S.  
IVLIA PERVICAE F.

DIS MANIBUS SACRUM  
JULIA PERVICAE FILIAE<sup>c</sup>

Besides these, various other fragments of sculpture have been met with in the neighbourhood. Among them were a mutilated figure of Victory, with her foot resting on a globe—a rude head, in *basso relievo*—a piece of an earthen vessel, with a naked figure leaning against a column—another, with

\* The number of the Cohort is illegible. This *Celer* was, we may suppose, a former slave of *Cammius*, and had most probably erected the altar to Fortune as a grateful expression of his feelings for benefits conferred.

The inscriptions above mentioned are still preserved, we believe, at Hoddam Castle, Dumfriesshire.

<sup>b</sup> The letters printed in small *Italics* are not in the original: they are merely supplied to fill up the blanks.

<sup>c</sup> Pennant's Tour, 1772—Append. p. 409.

part of a boar under a tree—above it the letters II. TVNG—a fragment of pottery, with the words SAC. EROR—and a stone inscribed C.L. PED. BR. P.; the meaning of which we must leave to conjecture.<sup>a</sup>

The almost obliterated traces of the camp at Birrens are supposed to occupy the site of the “BLATUM BULGIUM” of Roman times.<sup>b</sup> The second Itinerary Table of Antonine—another ancient topographical work, which is, however, with this exception, confined to England—places the latter at the distance of twelve Roman miles<sup>c</sup> from “CASTRA EXPLORATORUM” (*Netherby*) and twenty-four from “LUGUVALLIUM” (*Carlisle*). This agrees pretty nearly with the actual length of road between Middleby Kirk and the Cumbrian capital, which the traveller will find to be about twenty-one English miles. As BLATUM BULGIUM forms the extreme northern, and at the same time the starting point of the said *Iter*—which leads thence by York, Manchester, and London, to Richborough in Kent—we may, not without reason, assume that at the time of its compilation the station at Birrens had become “the outmost guard” of the Roman possessions in this quarter; or, at least, that the Roman authority did not at that time extend beyond the neighbouring post of Birrenswark, to be afterwards mentioned. If, therefore, the work of Antonine was written, as is supposed, during the reign of Caracalla,<sup>d</sup> we may, from a consideration of the above circumstance, form some idea of the extent to which the son of Severus had abandoned the conquests his father struggled to secure, when, enticed by the thousand blandishments of pleasure which centred round the Palatine, he condescended to treat with the Caledonian tribes, and to purchase at their hands an inglorious peace.

With the exception of the brass coin of Germanicus, and the inscription containing the name of Hadrian, the greater part, if not all the antiquities found at Birrens, may be ascribed perhaps to the third or fourth century. The striking similarity of style and execution which exist between them and the bulk of those discovered in the north of England, of which the dates can be ascertained, is sufficient to stamp them as the productions of a period subsequent to the reign of Septimus Severus; when—strange enough! with seemingly an increased demand for the produce of their labours—the artistic skill of the workmen had greatly declined.

<sup>a</sup> Pennant, Append. 408.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, 114, 115—Roy, 118.

<sup>c</sup> 12 Roman are equal to 11 English miles—Roy, 147.

<sup>d</sup> Roy, 94.

**BIRRENSWORK** } An hour's walk, or less, from Birrens conducts us to Bir-  
**HILL.** } renswork Hill,\* situated on the north-west, at a distance  
of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles. This singular height is of an irregular ovalshape—rising from the plain, in solitary pre-eminence, to an elevation of some five or six hundred feet. At first the ascent is, on all sides, gradual and easy; it becomes, however, more difficult as we proceed, and finally terminates in precipitous masses of rock, which rest like a giant-crown upon the summit. On the top lies an unequal plain, about nine hundred feet long by four hundred and fifty of mean width—almost inaccessible on two of its sides, but by no means of easy attainment on any. From this rough piece of table-land the view is very extensive—somewhat confined, it is true, to the north by the range of mountains which inclose the upper valleys of the Annan and the Esk, but exhibiting to the eye, in other directions, a wide and an inviting scene—bounded on the one side by the broad bosom of the Solway Firth, and on the other by the distant hills of Northumberland.

Looking around us from the summit of this height, we cannot fail to be struck with its peculiar advantages as a place of defence; and without doubt thoughts somewhat similar must have occurred to the earlier settlers of Dumfriesshire, when, in course of their progress through its forests, they beheld the rocky crest of Birrenswork raising its barren forehead above the surrounding wood. Everything attests, indeed, that the Selgovæ Gael had here established a place of strength, in the days of their independence and international quarrels, when as yet their own swords were the only umpires of their disputes, and Roman interference a thing unknown. Around the area of the summit may still be traced the remains of a wall, composed of earth and stones, which seems to have been raised at every spot where the precipitous rock did not of itself afford sufficient protection. Within this inclosure are to be seen the vestiges of an inner rampart, dividing the whole area into two nearly equal compartments; one of them containing the remains of an ancient cairn or watch-tower, and the other some few traces of a small military post which had been encompassed by a wall. These—from their appearance, and by comparison with similar works existing elsewhere—are with great reason supposed to have been constructed by the early Britons; and certainly no better

\* Or "Burrenswark," as it is sometimes written.

site than this could have been chosen, within the whole circuit of their possessions, on which to found the family stronghold of a Selgovian chief.\*

It is not, however, to the fortification of our Celtic forefathers, interesting as it may be, that we now desire to direct the reader's attention; we have to treat of the works of men who were enabled, by the gifts of civilisation, to subdue both the superior physical strength of the native Briton, and to set at nought the mightiest labours of his hand. The same striking advantages of position which attracted the early colonist to the Hill of Birrenswork, seem also to have directed towards it the march of the Roman legions. On two of its sides remain the distinct vestiges of military works, such as could have been alone raised by a soldiery habituated to the Italian method of *Castrametation*. Some authors have arrested the march of Agricola at this spot, and made him the architect of these grass-grown mounds, and the conqueror of the native ramparts situated above them.<sup>b</sup> Possibly enough the Legate of Vespasian may have here halted his forces, and destroyed at once the stronghold and the hopes of his barbarian opponents; but of this no evidence has descended to our times: and, in so far as we may judge from their remains, examined when in a more perfect state than at present, the entrenchments referred to must have been formed at a period long subsequent to the date of his command; when, with the changes introduced into the size and subdivision of the legions, a similar alteration was made in the construction of their camps.<sup>c</sup>

The largest of the Roman encampments at Birrenswork is situated on the southern slope of the hill—its upper *vallum* reaching within three hundred feet of the summit, and its lower defences skirting the level ground at the bottom. The space inclosed is 900 feet long and 600 feet broad; and has been originally encompassed by two ramparts, separated as usual by a deep trench; it had three gates in the upper, and apparently the same number in the under side, with a single one at either end. These seem to have been all protected by circular mounds, thrown up before them and fortified on the top. The *Prætorium*, or general's quarters, was placed in the north-east angle of the camp—an uncommon situation, but without doubt selected on this occasion on account of its being the highest part of the ground inclosed—the vestiges of which are still apparent on one side of the eastern entrance. A small fortified post seems

\* Roy, 73—Trans. of Scot. Antiq. Soc. I. 125.

<sup>b</sup> v. Gordon, p. 18—Horsley, 43.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, 73—Gordon thinks otherwise, and quotes Josephus to support his opinion; whose evidence appears, however, to be very little to the point—Itin. Sept. 17.

to have stood near the western, and another, somewhat similar, at the southern entrance; a tiny streamlet takes its rise from a spring near the centre of the area—still welling from the source which had supplied the Roman garrison.

The other camp occupies a position on the opposite side of the rising ground, with an exposure to the north; it is of the same length as that above mentioned, but only of half the width; in form it is less regular than the first, and it seems to have had only two gates in each of its longest sides, with one at either end, which were likewise, to all appearance, protected by circular mounds.

It is somewhat singular that those two encampments should have been connected with each other by means of continuous ramparts, as if there had at one time existed some danger of the communication between them being cut off; yet that they were so united appears evident, from the circumstance that the remains of walls and of intermediate posts have been distinctly traced, encircling the eastern skirt of the hill, and pointing towards the extremities of the two inclosures.<sup>a</sup>

It is well known that the Romans were in the habit of establishing, at moderate distances from their great permanent stations, what they called *Castra Aestiva*, or summer camps, into which the greatest part of the military in garrison were removed when the heat of the advancing season called for roomier quarters, and a more free exposure to the “wanton breeze.”<sup>b</sup> Those summer camps were generally constructed on the side of a hill, and, where practicable, were so arranged as to receive the full benefit of the refreshing currents which descended from the northern mountains, to temper the confined heats of the densely wooded lowlands. In his summer camp the legionary soldier experienced a grateful change from the less commodious quarters of the winter station: his narrow hut was exchanged for the airy tent, and while his personal comfort was thus increased, his health and activity of spirit received a corresponding impulse.<sup>c</sup> In all such matters the Romans showed themselves advanced proficient. What! had it been the same with their principles of internal government—with their national morality—with their economy of power?

Such as now mentioned are supposed to have been the camps at Birrensworke<sup>d</sup>—*CASTRÆ AESTIVÆ* to the fixed station at Birrens; the conjecture is

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camd.* III. 324—Gordon, 17—Roy, 74—Chalm. I. 152.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, 101.

<sup>c</sup> Whittaker, I. 181.

<sup>d</sup> v. Horsley, 115.



exceedingly plausible, and certainly no site could have been chosen, in that neighbourhood, so well adapted to the establishment of a summer encampment as the one referred to.

Opinions have differed as to the probable date of their formation. General Roy,<sup>a</sup> who gave some attention to the subject, supposes that these camps did not exist before the reign of Trajan.<sup>b</sup> He founds his opinion on an examination of their general form, on the number of their gates, and, above all, on the peculiar construction of the traverses or mounds raised to protect them; in all which particulars, the entrenchments at Birrenswork materially differ from the style of Roman Castrametation, as he supposes it to have been practised in the era of Agricola; while, at the same time, he seems to be of opinion that the Emperor Hadrian maintained an advanced post at this place. Undoubtedly, whenever the Romans had established themselves at Birrens, the hill of Birrenswork would not be left unoccupied: it was not a position to be abandoned as free quarters to an enemy; and, when not filled with the tents of its summer inhabitants, it is probable that a small garrison was maintained on the summit. The military way, leading from Middleby along Annandale, passes to the westward of this rising ground.<sup>c</sup>

RAEBURNFOOT. } In the district of Eskdale muir, ten miles north-east  
of Birrenswork Hill, and near the spot at which the  
two rivers Esk unite their waters, are to be seen the remains of an ancient defensive post, known by the name of CASTLE-OVER. The whole consists of three, and, at some places, four lines of earthen ramparts, inclosing an irregular oval area on the top of a height, from which, as in the case of Birrenswork, an extensive view can be obtained. The original form of these works is evidently British; but from the nature of additions made to them, apparently at some after period, and by other hands than its earliest possessors, it has been supposed that the Romans, struck by its situation, had thought proper to re-model the primitive fortifications, and to occupy them with some of their own detachments. From various circumstances, it seems highly probable that the invaders of the Selgovæ had established one of their permanent camps in that district of the country. A Roman causeway has been traced,

<sup>a</sup> Pp. 74, 75, and 191.

<sup>b</sup> He ascended the throne A.D. 98.

<sup>c</sup> See PLATE I. for a view of the relative positions of these camps and the station at Birrens,

for instance, leading in that direction along the south bank of the Esk, while various coins and other reliques have been picked up in the vicinity; all tending to show that the legionary soldier had been quartered at no great distance. The consequence is, that several inquirers, unable to discover any remains of a more legitimate character, have been induced, when in search of its vestiges, to fix upon Castle-Over, with all its doubtful appearance, as the probable locality of the station in question.<sup>a</sup> That Castle-Over may have been occupied as a mere point of observation is sufficiently probable; but that it had ever been elevated to the dignity of one of the Roman *Castra Hiberna* is more than doubtful. It is situated in too high a position for the purpose, and had it ever been so made use of, we should suppose that its semi-circular ramparts would have been more completely altered, to suit the internal arrangements usually adopted by the legions.

Castle-Over might still, however, have continued to be regarded as one of the places noticed by Ptolemy, in his list of towns existing in the country of the Selgovæ, but for the researches of the Rev. Mr. Brown of Eskdalemuir, who appears to have discovered the real *vestigia* of the Roman station in the remains of some ancient entrenchments—which continued, till within these eight or ten years, in a tolerably perfect state of preservation—at Raeburnfoot; a tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Rae-burn with the river Esk. Those works, now much obliterated, are situated about five miles to the north of Castle-Over, and occupy exactly such a position as we find was chosen at Birrens, and elsewhere, for the settlement of Roman garrisons. From Mr. Brown's description of the entrenchments, as they appeared in 1810, they seem to have borne a strong resemblance to such as we meet with in other quarters—measuring externally about 585 by 400 feet. On three sides the size could be very well ascertained; but on the fourth they had been, to a considerable extent, washed away by the neighbouring stream.<sup>b</sup> We have no doubt but that the military way which was supposed to have led to Castle-Over had actually been intended to open a communication with this station, which may very possibly have been the central point of Ptolemy's UXELLUM, or of his CORDA. We shall not pretend to decide which.

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 120—Chalm. I. 89—The one supposed Castle-Over to be the *Uxellum*, the other the *Corda* of Ptolemy.

<sup>b</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Dumfriesshire, p. 401.

Although many of the smaller forts and temporary camps of the Romans have been discovered in Annandale and its adjacent districts, there does not appear to have been another station of any importance on the line of their western road, until it leaves the more elevated country and descends into the valley of the Clyde. But, prior to following its course into the territories of the ancient Damnii, we must be permitted to take a passing glance at the Peninsula of Galloway—the wild region so sternly defended against the invading forces of Agricola.\* The writings of Ptolemy and Richard have preserved the names of three towns or stations in this district of Scotland, regarding the position of which no great difference of opinion has ever existed. These are *CABBANTORIGUM*, *LEUCOPIBIA*, and *RETIGONIUM*—supposed to be represented among the *Municipia* of modern times by the towns of Kirkcudbright, Whithorn,<sup>b</sup> and Stranraer. It will be observed that they are all near the sea-coast, the interior parts of Kirkcudbright and Wigtonshires being left unnoticed by the old geographers. The reed-covered huts of the aboriginal Britons had perhaps originally occupied the ground on which, at a later period, the establishment of Roman posts had given rise to a more durable architecture; but for which the most populous amongst the forest “cities” would have disappeared among the brushwood which surrounded them, without a single record being left to preserve the memory of their name or place. From the expressions of Mr. Chalmers and others, we are apt to entertain the idea that a considerable number of the North British towns mentioned by Ptolemy, were solely indebted to their native importance for the particular notice which he bestowed upon them. We are certainly told by that geographer of so many having been situated in the territories of the Novantes, so many in those of the Gadeni, others among the Ottadeni, and so on—the number given to each

\* v. Ante, p. 60.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Horsley supposes Wigton to stand on the site of the ancient Leucopibia—apparently without reason—as his views are unsupported by any distinct evidence; while, from the discovery of Roman entrenchments, &c. in the vicinity of Whithorn, there is every reason to believe that it really indicates the position sought for. The modern has besides a curious affinity with the ancient name—“Whithern” or “Whithorn” being evidently derived from the Saxon “Hwitaern,” a white house; while “Leucopibia” signifies the same in Greek. (v. N. Stat. Acc.) As Ptolemy wrote in this language, he probably thought proper to alter the Latin words “Candida Casa” into “Λευκοπιβια” (Leucopibia), more properly “Λευκοικιδια”—considering the sense to be all that was required. In the old records of the Scottish Parliament the Bishop of Whithorn is styled “de Candida Casa.” Bede mentions it also by the same name.

seldom exceeding three or four; but we are not, in consequence, called upon to believe that these were all of native origin—the actual seats of a Caledonian population, with which the innovations of the Romans had nothing to do. Such, no doubt, many of them originally were; but we may with some probability conclude that the great majority, if not all of the places thus alluded to, were made known to the “wisest of the Greeks,” as Ptolemy was styled, on account of their having been occupied as Roman stations by the troops of Agricola, Hadrian, or Lollius Urbicus; all of whom had been in this country before the geography referred to could have been compiled. By the expression Roman stations, we do not mean it to be understood that the invading forces had actually occupied the native villages themselves, but simply that they had found it convenient or necessary to establish permanent camps in their vicinity; or else that these same towns had sprung into existence after the stations were erected—indebted to them for their origin and subsequent security.

The vestiges of Roman camps, situated among the numerous British posts which environ Kirkcudbright,<sup>a</sup> sufficiently indicate that the country about the mouth of the Dee had been occupied by the legions in considerable force. It was there, perhaps, as well as in other districts of the Selgovian territory, that Agricola found it necessary to force his way amid the stern resistance of the natives; compelling them, by slow degrees, to evacuate the mountain-holds from which they watched his motions and threatened his advance: but, with the exception of those scattered encampments, nothing now exists in that quarter to animate the zeal of the inquirer among the *reliquiæ* of by-past times. In this respect, Kirkcudbright and Whithorn<sup>b</sup> are in much the same situation. Some few traces of Roman temporary encampments are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of both; but of the permanent stations supposed to have existed near them not a vestige remains. Of Stranraer nothing can be said; the country around it is a barren field to the antiquary; and, on whatever side of Loch Ryan the site of the ancient RETIGONIUM may have been, there seems little chance of any direct proofs being ever produced to

<sup>a</sup> Sinclair's Stat. Account, V. I. p. 24.

<sup>b</sup> New Stat. Account of Scotland, Kirkcudbr. p. 55. Roman coins are occasionally found near Whithorn—Chalm. Caled. I. 107.

<sup>c</sup> The RETIGONIUS SINUS of Ptolemy.

cast the least additional light upon this disputed subject. The west of Scotland appears to have had but few attractions for the Roman colonist; judging of the fact by the comparative paucity of its antiquarian remains, and by the barren aspect which it wears on the map of Ancient Britain. It would seem indeed, that, with the exception of the station at Paisley, there had been no establishment of any importance founded by the Romans between Loch Ryan and the Clyde at Dumbarton.<sup>a</sup> The reason of this it is not easy to conjecture, for the counties of Renfrew and Ayr could not have been difficult of access in any direction, while the soil and climate of both must have been at least equal to those of most other districts in Scotland; still, according to all that is now known on the subject, we must conclude that this region was either less known to or less coveted by the Romans, than the rest of the country to the south of the Forth.<sup>b</sup>

Retracing our steps to the neighbourhood of Middleby, and proceeding thence in a direction almost due north, we pass in succession the sites of various camps and minor forts, until we fall in with the descending waters of the Clyde; and, by following their course, reach the country about Lanark and Carstairs. There, surrounded by the improvements of modern times, the dim shade of antiquity has her viewless seat; she bends in silence amid the light of Britain's present civilisation, making good her claim the while as the representative of its earliest dawn. The memorials of her palmy days are, it is true, almost annihilated; but the memory of her existence is not altogether gone.

CARSTAIRS. } Presumptive evidence goes far to show that the Castle-hill at Lanark had been the seat of a Roman garrison,<sup>c</sup>—established there to protect the ford or bridge, by which those travellers were wont to cross the Clyde who journeyed along the Military Way which led to the westward. In this respect, and on account of its proximity to that station, it may properly be regarded as an outpost to the more important

<sup>a</sup> Sir R. Sibbald refers to Irvine and some other places of the west coast as having been Roman seaports—without the shadow of an authority, in so far as can be discovered by his writings.

<sup>b</sup> Chalm. I. 154—Roy, 121—Horsley supposes Ptolemy's "CORDA" to have stood near the modern village of Old Cumnock; but his opinion is entirely conjectural—*c.* Horsley's Brit. p. 367.

<sup>c</sup> In later times the Castle-hill of Lanark was occupied by a fortress ascribed to David I. Sinclair's Stat. Acct. XV. 12.

establishment at Carstairs. At Lanark many Roman coins have been found; amongst others, one in silver, of the Empress Faustina,<sup>a</sup> the wife of Antoninus Pius: and the traces of various Roman works have been discovered in its vicinity—as, for instance, a large camp on the banks of the Mouse, near Cleghorn, and a smaller entrenched post on Lanark moor.<sup>b</sup> But the central point of the district, round which the Roman colonists or the provincial Britons are supposed to have settled, is the station, of which some few traces remain, on the farm of Corbiehall, about three miles to the westward of the county town, and rather more than one mile south from the village of Carstairs. At this place, known by the name of Castledykes, Roy places the “CORDA,”<sup>c</sup> Horsley the “COLANIA,”<sup>d</sup> and Chalmers the “CORIA”<sup>e</sup> of Ptolemy. But however their conjectures may give rise to some uncertainty about the name, their united inquiries tend to confirm that more interesting fact, which points to the former existence of a provincial colony in its neighbourhood.

The entrenchments at Castledykes can still be faintly traced, although so much dilapidated, that, to the eye unpractised in such researches, there now appears almost nothing whatever to attract the attention. The area inclosed within the walls measured above 200 yards on each side, comprehending a space of six square acres. The spot is now partly covered by a young plantation; but the plough has, in some places, been often at work upon the former quarters of the legionary soldier, playing havoc with the traces of his toil. This post appears to have been originally fortified by double envelopes; but when surveyed by General Roy, a single rampart and ditch were all that remained.

The certainty of the Roman colonists having had one of their towns in the neighbourhood of Carstairs, if not supported by so many proofs as have confirmed the most incredulous with regard to Birrens, is, however, pretty clearly ascertained by the discoveries which have been made at Castledykes, and in its environs. Around the camp considerable numbers of Roman bricks have been dug up—the remains of buildings which must have stood without its walls; likewise a number of Roman coins, which include medals of Germanicus,

<sup>a</sup> Roy. 122.

<sup>b</sup> *v.* Sinclair's Stat. Acot. XV. 10—Chalm. I. 155.

<sup>c</sup> P. 122.

<sup>d</sup> P. 367.

<sup>e</sup> Pp. 61, 121, 155—Mr. Gough believed it to have been the *CONIO* of Richard—See his edit. of Camd. III. 343.

Nero, Trajan, and Faustina.\* We can perhaps attach but little importance to the discovery of such portable articles as these, when sparingly found in any particular locality; the coinage of the conquerors may have continued to form the chief circulating medium of this island, long after the last of the legions had abandoned our shores; and it need not, therefore, cause any surprise that we should hear of such things as “a Titus” picked up in Sutherland, or “a Trajan” in Orkney; nor because the brass medal of a Roman emperor was discovered near Lochlomond, are we on that account to suppose that a party of his soldiers had quartered on its banks. Without doubt, every description of metal, coined or otherwise, was welcome to the Caledonians—eagerly sought after in their plundering expeditions to the south, and carried by them on their return to the farthest corners of the island; when thus conveyed, however, we find no regular hordes concealed; but only here and there some solitary piece, which had probably been accidentally lost. The case is different when we are told that on the very site, long pointed out as the position of a Roman or Roman-British town, the *Denarii*, the “great brass,” and even the *Aurii* of the empire, have often been found in no trifling numbers; and that in the fields thus enriched little gathered stores of such treasure have been brought to light, which had lain untouched during the long interval of, it may be, fourteen or fifteen centuries; when such is the case, we may doubtless regard those ancient deposits as the memorials of a civic population long passed away, who had found it necessary, on the approach of danger, to conceal their wealth in the vicinity of their dwellings, and in places only known to the respective owners, with whom the secret necessarily died.

Near the church of Carstairs have been discovered the remains of a bath,<sup>b</sup> that frequent accompaniment of a Roman station, besides a variety of antique weapons and sacrificial instruments; with several coins belonging to the reigns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>c</sup> So lately as the spring of 1844, one of those singular brass vessels, called Roman camp kettles, was found in this neighbourhood; they have been discovered in considerable numbers throughout the country, and generally in the vicinity of some of the Roman camps. For a representation of that disinterred at Carstairs, see PLATE VI. FIG. 6.<sup>d</sup>

\* Gough's *Camd.* III. 343—Pennant, VI. 174. A number of these are now in the possession of Mr. Monteith of Carstairs.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, 104.

<sup>c</sup> Sinclair's *Stat. Acct.*—XVIII. 180.

<sup>d</sup> This vessel is likewise at Carstairs House.

The situation of this place, on the line of the great western thoroughfare, and at the point where the military cross-road which led into Ayrshire diverged, was remarkably well adapted for a post of primary importance. It stood in the heart of the Damnian territory, embosomed in what must have been a comparatively fertile country, and was about equi-distant from Castlecary, on the wall of Antoninus, and the station on the Forth at Cramond; while that on the Clyde at West Kilpatrick lay within an easy day's journey to the well-mounted horseman. The garrisons of Paisley on the one side, and of Borthwick Castle, or of the Eildon Hills, on the other, were equally easy of access from it; while the numerous forts on the upper Clyde and in Annandale could all have been communicated with from the banks of the Mouse, between the rising and the setting of a summer sun. In a military point of view, the locality about Carstairs was therefore very likely to be chosen as the head-quarters of a district; while its central position, approached by good roads in four directions—for the highways leading from West Kilpatrick and Camelon met only a few miles farther south—must have given it many advantages in any affairs of traffic which may have been carried on among the provincial population. Had the soil around Carstairs been of a more barren cast, or had modern improvement been there forwarded by less fostering hands, we should doubtless have been able to say something more of the ancient CORIA, and of the particular period when it flourished. As it is, the curtain has closed—"alike upon her fortunes and her fall."

The distance from Carstairs to West Kilpatrick, in following the track of the ancient military way, is about thirty-five miles. Along this line there were no doubt many intermediate posts, such as we find existing in other directions; the position which some of them occupied can indeed be pointed out with tolerable accuracy:<sup>a</sup> but we have no reason to think that any other town or station of any importance existed on its course, until the road from the *Prætentura* of Hadrian had reached as far as the wall of Antoninus. If any such were ever established within what is now the county of Lanark, their last traces had disappeared before the *vestigia* of the Roman occupation had become objects of attention. From the rural centre, therefore, where the growing Clyde sweeps past the broken ramparts of Castledykes, we must

<sup>a</sup> See Sections III. and IV.



repair to the haunts of industry, in its busiest life—whence, from an ancient seat of Roman power, the modern world derives some of those treasures of her “silken dalliance” which go far to rival, perhaps, the coveted manufactures of classic times—the Indian tissue with its Tyrian dye.

PAISLEY. } No one, according to Mr. Chalmers,<sup>a</sup> has ever denied to Paisley the honour of a Roman station, nor can the authority be well disputed which places on its site the *VANDUARA*<sup>b</sup> of Ptolemy's map. The somewhat extensive remains of ancient military works, which in one quarter almost encircled the town, and in another crowned the hill on which the entire Paisley of the seventeenth century stood, had early attracted the attention of the curious, and imparted a sort of classic interest to a spot already rendered famous by the regards of the Royal and the Noble, and by the wealth of its ghostly fathers in the palmy days of the Church. Sir Robert Sibbald, quoting from Mr. Dunlop in the year 1707,<sup>c</sup> says that there was a large Roman camp at Paisley, the defences of which seemed to have inclosed the whole rising ground on which the town was built, embracing a circuit of about a mile in extent; the rampart, at that time, visibly skirted the base of the hill on its northern side, and apparently reached in that quarter to the west bank of the river Cart. He describes, what he believed to be, the *Prætorium* or citadel of the station, as then existing, on a part of the summit called *Oakshaw-head*—its area fortified by treble lines of ditches and earthen walls; the height of the latter being even at that time so great, that a man seated on horseback could not see over them. He likewise observes, that the ground at that point emitted a hollow sound when struck, as if vaulted beneath; and concludes his description by comparing the form of this interior post with that of the great station at Ardoch. A later inquirer conjectures that Sir R. Sibbald's authority has given the name of *Prætorium* to what was actually the Camp, and that he mistook the remains of some detached outworks for the vestiges of a continuous wall.<sup>d</sup> It must be evident, however, that if the

<sup>a</sup> Caled. I. 156.

<sup>b</sup> “*Ovandevara*,” Ptol.—“*Vanduaria*,” Richard. General Roy (p. 121) slightly hints that Renfrew, which he calls a very ancient place, may represent that ancient Damnian town; while Sir R. Sibbald (Rom. Ant. p. 36) imagines Paisley to occupy the place of *Coria Damniorum*, another of Caledonia's pristine “cities;” but neither of these opinions have been generally adopted.

<sup>c</sup> Histor. Inquiries, p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Gough's add. to Camd. III. 347.

ramparts of such an outwork were sufficiently extensive to encircle nearly the one-half of Paisley, as it was 150 years ago, there can be no just reason to draw the line of distinction between it and what the Parisians of this day would term an *enceinte continuée*. In modern times the area of the Roman citadel was turned into a bowling green, which the ancient ramparts partly served to inclose; but with the extension of the town almost every other vestige of its defences has disappeared.

When the scouts of a Roman force—that perhaps which Agricola led northward in the year 82 from the Solway Firth—found their way arrested, while directing the path of the army through the woods and fens of Renfrewshire, by the waters of an unknown stream, the first question put to the stray captive—secured as a guide upon the march—would probably lead them to understand that the river before them was known to the natives as the *Wen-dur*, or White-water;\* an epithet but little changed in its Latinized form of *Vanduar*, and of which the meaning still survives in that of the *White Cart*. From the name of the adjacent stream, the invaders formed, as usual, that of the village which occupied its banks, and the British town, along with the permanent fortress afterwards established by its side, became known as the *Vanduar* of the conquered province. It may be suggested as extremely probable that the Roman troops did find a native town existing on the Cart at Paisley, when they first made their appearance in that part of the country; nor is it at all unlikely that a significant meaning, hitherto we believe unnoticed, lurks under the two varieties of nomenclature, applied by the Romans to those stations, named from the rivers on which they stood. The first of these were formed by an addition to, or slight alteration of the original word; as for example—*VANDUARA*, on the *Wen-dur*—*HIERNA*, on the *Earn*—*DEVANA*, on the *Dee*—*ÆSICA*, on the *Esk*, and several others: while the second class appear before us with the Latin prefix “at,” or “near to,” as in the following instances, *AD-TAVUM*, on the *Tay*—*AD-ITUNAM* on the *Ythan*, &c.—besides several with which the modern names of the adjacent rivers do not correspond, such as *AD-SELINAM*, on the *Doveran*, and *AD-TINAM*, on the *North Esk*. A moment’s reflection must lead to the conclusion

\* Chalm. I. 156. An antiquarian friend suggests that the Roman *VANDUARA* was probably derived from the Gaelic words *Beinn an daraich*, “Hill of Oaks,” which was possibly the Celtic designation of the place, and of which the traces may survive in “Oakshawhead.”

that this arrangement was not the creation of mere chance, but the natural effect of a sufficient cause; and what more likely than this, that, where the Romans found a native town in existence, they at once bestowed on it a proper urban name;\* but that those places where their own ramparts arose in solitude, were simply known by such terms as the "fort on the Tay, or the station at the Ythan?"

The Damnian hunter therefore was, we may believe, the father of Paisley's existence. His experienced eye saw at once the value of its site: to the swelling height above, the tidal stream below, and the undulating woods around, there was wanting only the smoke of his rude hut to form a perfect whole in his esteem; nor, when he thus found an abiding place to his wish, were many hours required ere the fire blazed on his sheltered hearth, and his young barbarians were protected from the storm. As time rolled on, others of his clansmen might gather around the spot, new habitations would probably arise on the margin of the "White River," and the ancient solitude of the forest be gradually invaded, until a populous colony became established by its side—peaceable or warlike as occasion called—untamed as free—until that eventful period arrived, when the messenger of evil came upon its people from the south—telling of enemies before unknown—of mighty hosts blazing in steel and gold, which were advancing through the land with slow but resistless steps, and breaking upon the silence of their country's primitive seclusion.

Nothing is known as to the period when the Romans occupied the station at Paisley, nor of the probable length of time during which they maintained a garrison within its walls. It is not unlikely that the provincial town established there was never entirely destroyed amid the troubles which succeeded the final departure of the Roman forces, and that it continued to exist, if its importance did not increase, during the long ages of darkness which preceded the rise of the Scottish monarchy. The successive changes which must therefore have followed, in any place thus occupied for a series of ages, were sufficient to sweep away, long ere now, all such remains of an early civilisation as have been elsewhere discovered among the ruins of the great stations which were exposed by the retreat of the Romans to complete and rapid destruction; and where, in consequence, the broken statue or the lettered stone were buried unnoticed under their crumbling ruins. Were

\* Roma—Terracina—Capua—Vandua—Alauna—are all parallel instances.

it not that the departed "fathers" of "orders black and grey" bestowed but little attention on the preservation of our antiquities, we might perhaps have had to thank some monk of Wenlock for many a scattered record of interest to our subject which is now for ever lost; for most probably the field was not so barren, some seven hundred years ago,<sup>a</sup> as it has since become; but unfortunately the fountains of learning were in those days destined to flow in few channels, and that which it is our lot to follow had the misfortune to be rather neglected.

The Roman station on the Cart was approached by a branch road, which diverged from the main line of way near Glasgow. Many traces of its course were to be perceived in the year 1725: at the present day, when every vestige is gone, imagination discovers a memento of its existence in a name, once that of a farm-house,<sup>b</sup> now of a street, the "Causeway-side." Applied to the latter, such an appellation would not perhaps have called for any particular remark; as it is one that might readily have been given in modern times to any row of houses, which stood at the extremity of the town; but when it is found bestowed on a few isolated buildings, situated among pasture lands or corn fields, there is really a difficulty in accounting for the name, unless we allow some probability to the conjecture which connects it with the past existence of the Roman way.

Besides the ramparts on the rising ground at Oakshawhead which formed the citadel of the station, the vestiges of two other encampments of a similar description exist at Paisley. The one is situated on the west, the other on the south—each at the distance of about half a mile from the first mentioned position.<sup>c</sup> These appear to have been established as outposts, and nearly corresponded in size with the principal station; but they seem to have been less strongly defended, being simply inclosed by a single rampart and ditch. Placed about equi-distant from each other, the three formed the salient points of an equilateral triangle, from one or other of which the various districts around might be kept in view. The country in their vicinity was no doubt much wooded in ancient times; the sombre expanse of Paisley moss, wide spreading to the north-west, tells plainly of primeval thickets buried there;

<sup>a</sup> The Monastery of Paisley was founded for a body of Black Friars from Wenlock in Shropshire, A.D. 1160.

<sup>b</sup> See Blaeu's Map in Crawford's Renfrewshire.

<sup>c</sup> The former is on the lands of Woodside—the latter on those of Castlehead—*v. Chalm. I. 157—Gough's Camd. III. 347.* Some of their vestiges still remain.

while it is well known that in the opposite direction, towards Blackhall and Fereneze, the ancient forest maintained its ground down to the close of the thirteenth century.<sup>a</sup> Such outposts, therefore, could hardly be dispensed with, where the means of concealment to an enemy were so abundant on the very outskirts of the provincial town; but, as before stated, nothing is known of the particular time when those turf-covered mounds echoed with the bugle-call of the Roman musters—of the legions which formed their garrisons—or of the emperors in whose reigns they served. The soldiers of Agricola were perhaps the first of the Roman forces to cross the Cart, and its waters may probably have been among those which gleamed with the last of the silver standards which were borne aloft in North Britain. We may imagine the inhabitants of VANDUARA to have prospered, from generation to generation, during the long interval of Roman dominion—contented though subdued—and assembling at last to watch with heavy hearts the farewell march of their accustomed protectors; nor is it unlikely that long years of intercommunication may have so habituated the provincial Britons to the presence of the Roman forces, that their departure was regarded as a national loss—not only on account of the opening which that event presented to the Picts and Scots, but likewise in consequence of the departure of the old colonial settlers, who followed, we are told, in the wake of the legions.

We have now gone over the few places, situated towards the west of Scotland, and within the wall of Antoninus, which can with any degree of certainty be referred to as the sites of first-class stations—*Castra Hiberna*, with adjacent villages or towns. The garrison Forts which were established on the line of the Wall itself will be taken notice of in a separate chapter; in the meantime we return to the *prætenturæ* of Severus, taking our imaginary departure from the station at Corbridge, whence issued that eastern line of way which was carried forward by the Romans, through the counties of Roxburgh and Berwick, to the Firth of Forth.

CHEW-GREEN. } Passing the Northumbrian stations of RISINGHAM and  
ROCHESTER,<sup>b</sup> on which our limits forbid us to dwell, the  
track of the Roman causeway crossed the Scottish border at a spot called  
CHEW-GREEN, situated near the head of Coquet River, where the two parishes  
of Hownam and Oxnam abut on English soil. Here General Roy places

<sup>a</sup> s. Ragman's Roll, Temp. Edwd. I. A.D. 1296—Prin's Hist.

<sup>b</sup> Sometimes written Rowchester or Riechester—supposed to be the HABITANCUM of Richard. Risingham is the BREMENTIUM of Ptolemy.

the *AD FINES* mentioned in Richard's Fifth Itinerary;<sup>a</sup> a name which Mr. Chalmers claims for another station, some twenty miles farther north. This difference of opinion is a natural consequence of an omission in the tables referred to; for the monk of Westminster has simply set down the words "*AD FINES*," between the stations of *CURIA*, supposed to be Borthwick Castle, in the county of Edinburgh, and *BREMENIUM*, Rochester in Northumberland, without stating its distance from either the one or the other.<sup>b</sup> It is therefore impossible to decide on its real position with any accuracy, nor is it perhaps of much importance to our subject, whether we look for the site of the station referred to on the Coquet or the Tweed.

The Roman entrenchments at *CHEW-GREEN* show it to have been a post of great importance. In many respects they bear a singular resemblance to the military works at Ardoch in Strathallan. Here, there at one time existed the distinct traces of three large encampments, adjoining to a smaller inclosure or permanent fort, which was strongly defended by a succession of ramparts and ditches. They were situated in an amphitheatre of hills, and close on the line of the military way, about three miles distant from the narrow mountain pass at Woden-Law. The position of this station leads to the belief that it was originally established to guard the principal passage from Teviotdale, at a point where the rugged nature of the country presented many facilities for the operations of an enemy. Nor were the fortifications at *CHEW-GREEN* the only works of the kind which the Roman soldiery had constructed to insure security in that quarter. The pass at Woden-Law was likewise protected by a strong military post, a double camp surrounded by four ramparts, which overlooked the road in its winding course through the ravine below;<sup>c</sup> and, in addition, the outlines of a large temporary camp have been traced beyond the small river Kail, little more than a mile distant from the spot where the Roman causeway entered upon less rugged ground. The situation of the fort at *CHEW-GREEN* militates against the idea that it ever formed the nucleus of a colonial settlement, and rather gives rise to the belief that it was merely a great military station, established in the bosom of the Cheviot Hills, with a view to the due security of their eastern thoroughfare, and to the maintenance of Roman authority among the aborigines of a district, extremely favourable in itself to any sudden attempts which

<sup>a</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 117.

<sup>b</sup> c. Horsley's Brit. and Whittaker's Manches. V. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, 117, 118.

might be made, on the part of the natives, to avenge the loss of their possessions. The three outer camps were formed, we may conjecture, for the accommodation of troops on the march; or, more probably perhaps, for the reception of reinforcements sent thither in cases of emergency—such as may have threatened the safety of the garrison on some of those occasions when the Caledonian Britons had surmounted the Wall of Antoninus, and were shouting their war-cries to the south of the Pentland Hills.

Some authors have looked upon the spot where the streams of the Jed and Teviot unite as the acknowledged site of a Roman post. The traces of old military works have indeed been discovered there;<sup>a</sup> and, as the ancient causeway passed beside them, it is by no means improbable that the protecting bulwarks of a Roman fortress did throw their shadows on this meeting of the waters, in those days when the pomps of military life flaunted on the walls of Birrens, and amid the dark solitudes of Chew-Green. But so few have been the vestiges discovered there, and so completely have they disappeared, that “conjecture’s self” must hesitate to spread the wing, where nothing breaks upon the waste of years to point the way, or “show a place of rest.” Whether the trifling mounds which once existed there belonged to a fixed station, or to a mere way-side camp, will perhaps never be determined. It is therefore unnecessary to linger around them, and we proceed onward to that fertile corner where the three-peaked Eildon looks down on Melrose and the winding Tweed.

EILDON. } The Eildon Hills form a prominent object in the landscape.  
 } As seen from the south-east, they present the appearance of three conical tops, rising from an elevated base—the two most northerly being the highest. A single glance at their exalted summits and lone position must satisfy the visitor that the view which waits him there is worthy of the exertions required to “climb the steep.” From the peaks of Eildon he may overlook an extent of country, unrivalled in the south of Scotland for the variety of its scenery, and the fertility that shows throughout. They form, in fact, a conspicuous land-mark, from the borders of England to the frontiers of the Lothians, and were most probably looked forward to by Agricola as a promising point of observation, when he first beheld their naked summits towering above the primeval forests—serving as the beacons towards which he directed the course of his invading march.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 102.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

When General Roy visited this part of the country in the year 1789, he was struck by the coincidence between the appearance of those hills and the inference to be drawn from the name given by Ptolemy to a station in the south of Scotland, which he calls *Tepuorrior*, *Trimontium*. The Alexandrian geographer places this town, it is true, in the territories of the Selgovæ—that is, to the west of the Esk; but as he took many liberties with the form of our island—turning Cape Wrath away to the eastward, and setting down the Mull of Galloway in its place—he is probably no infallible authority as to the actual position of many of those places with which he was acquainted only by name: hence Roy supposes him to have erred in fixing the ancient *Trimontium* so far to the westward as he has done, and suggests the great probability of its having stood in the vicinity of, and taken its designation from, the *three* summits of the far-seen Eildon.\*

The district around them was at one time studded with the vestiges of ancient military works. Many of these have now disappeared, but a few still remain, to connect its present lively aspect with the “silent memories” of bygone times. At the little village of Eildon, the remains of some dilapidated ramparts led General Roy to fix upon it as the site of the Roman colony—especially as the ancient causeway could be traced to that spot all along from Chew-Green; while a similar road was found to diverge from it, leading to the south-west, in the direction of Netherby.<sup>b</sup> On the brow of the north-eastern hill are the remains of a large circular inclosure, a mile and a half in circumference, which formed probably a retreat for the families and herds of the early Britons—and not a Roman camp, as some have imagined, the Romans neither constructing their camps of a circular form, nor placing them in such elevated positions; while, from their great extent, there is no likelihood that those walls had any connection with a mere exploratory station—although the Roman troops may have had a post of outlook within the inclosure, where some few vestiges of an interior work still break the level surface of the top. But at a short distance, on the northern slope of the central height, there existed the defences of a military work, undoubtedly of Roman origin. This had been

\* Mr. Chalmers combats this opinion, and places *Trimontium* at Birrenswark—*Caled.* I. 152. Richard, perhaps following Ptolemy, also has it among the Selgovæ—Roy, 118.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, 116, 117.



fortified by double walls and ditches, and was connected with another, on Caldshiels-hill,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the south-west, by a rampart and trench—the latter about fourteen feet wide, and from nine to ten in depth. Chalmers conjectures this sort of curtain to a covert way to have been a work of the provincial Britons, formed on the departure of the Romans as a protection, we presume, against the inroads of the Picts. It seems, however, to have been of much too limited an extent to serve for any more important purpose than to maintain an open communication between the two forts above mentioned; and, as such, we may perhaps regard it to be a very early Roman work—raised by the legionary detachments—while their tenure of the country was as yet far from being confirmed.\* Numerous British strongholds overlooked this district in ancient times: their enduring walls of stone and earth still encircle the verdant summits of many neighbouring hills; and, in some instances, when situated near the line of road, they appear to have been altered to accommodate a Roman garrison.

The fact of the Romans having had a military station established in the vicinity of the Eildon Hills can scarcely be questioned; for, besides the remains of old entrenchments existing in that quarter, which had all the appearance of Roman works, there was a few years since discovered, not far from the village of Eildon, a votive Altar, in the most perfect preservation, bearing an inscription which carries us back to the time when the Centurions of the legions were commanding there. It is of common freestone, measuring about 44 inches in height, and is dedicated to the forest deity Silvanus, as may be seen below—the one column being a transcript of the original, and the second a copy of it extended at length:—

DEO SILVA  
NO PRO SA  
LVTE SVA ET  
SVORVM CAR  
RIVS DOMITI  
ANVS 'LEG XX  
VV. VS. LL. M

DEO SILVANO,  
PRO SALUTE  
SUA ET SVORVM,  
CARRIVS DOMITIANVS  
CENTURIO LEGIONIS VICE-  
SIMAE VALENTIS VICTRICIS  
VOTVM SOLVIT  
LIBENTISSIME MERITO

*To the god Silvanus,<sup>b</sup>  
For the welfare<sup>c</sup>  
Of Himself and His Family,  
Carrivs Domitianus,  
Centurion of the 20th Legion,  
The valiant and victorious  
[Dedicates this],  
A vow most willingly performed.*

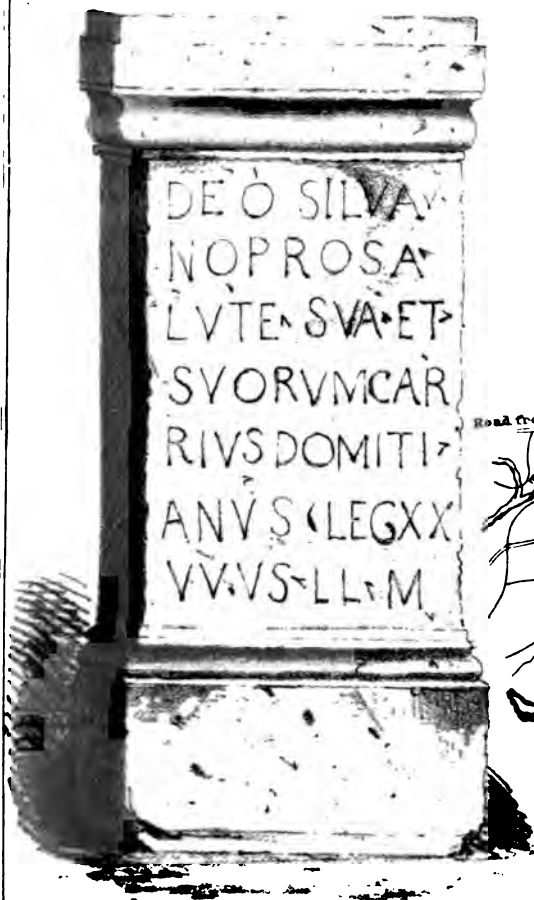
\* v. Sinc. Stat. Acct. IX. 92—Chalm. I. 162—Gough's Camd. III. 295—and Milne's Melrose, *passim*—who mentions that Roman coins have been found in the neighbourhood (p. 45).

<sup>b</sup> We shall again meet with "Silvanus" when tracing the course of the Wall of Antonine.

<sup>c</sup> Otherwise, safety or health.

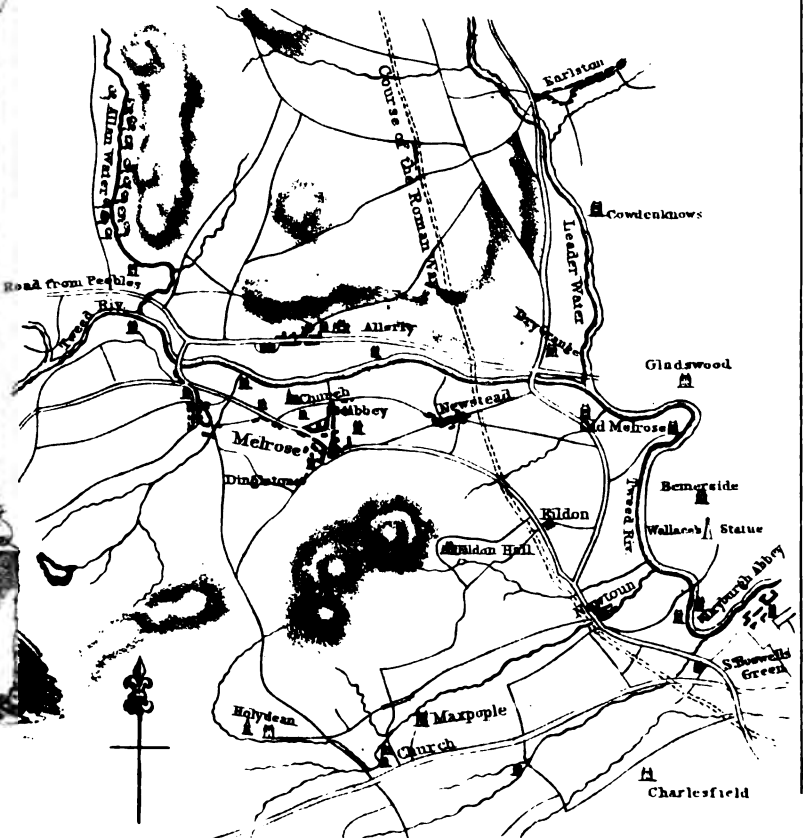


THE EILDON HILLS FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.



ALTAR, DISCOVERED NEAR THE VILLAGE OF EILDON.

ENVIRONS OF THE EILDON HILLS.





A representation of this altar is given in PLATE III.\* in which has also been introduced a view of the Eildon Hills, as seen from the direction in which they were most probably approached by the forces of Agricola.<sup>b</sup> We do not know of any rising grounds in Scotland to which the designation of Ptolemy could so properly apply; and when we couple with their appearance the various circumstances which seem to hallow the spot with the shade of antiquity—the remains of ancient ramparts—the proximity of the Roman way—and the recent discovery of the above inscription—there really seems good reason to place the ancient TRIMONTIUM in that locality. We here meet, for the first time, with the Twentieth legion—the memorials of whose apparently long residence in the North of Britain we shall, by and by, encounter on many occasions. In reference to the legend on the altar, it is only necessary to explain that the word *Centurio* never appears in any of our northern inscriptions; but is indicated sometimes by what seems a C reversed, thus ), and at others by a mark resembling the figure 7.<sup>c</sup> The cutting of the letters is comparatively well executed, and probably dates from the latter half of the second century.

LYNE. } If we leave the track of the military way at Eildon, and pursue  
 } the windings of the Tweed towards its source, we reach, at a place called Lyne, four miles beyond Peebles, the faint entrenchments of a considerable Roman station. It measured, including the walls, 850 by 770 feet, and bore a considerable resemblance to the chief camp at Birrens—with this exception, that it has had only three courses of ramparts, with two intervening ditches; while the latter was defended by five of the one and four of the other.<sup>d</sup> Like that at Birrens, it stands on the banks of a running stream—the Lyne—which flanks the remains of this station on two sides, in the same manner as the waters of the Mein and its tributary rivulet do those of the other. The entrenchments at Lyne lie within a kind of basin, which the green hills of Tweeddale here form, on the natural line of thoroughfare between the upper part of Clydesdale and the counties of Selkirk and Roxburgh. Those heights are likewise crowned in many quarters by the vestiges of native Hill Forts,

\* This antique is now at Drygrange, a gentleman's seat near Melrose.

<sup>b</sup> v. Roy, Milit. Antiq.

<sup>c</sup> v. Gruteri Corpus Inscriptionum, and Horsley's Britan. Rom. *passim*.

<sup>d</sup> Roy, 122, and Pl. 28—Mungo Park, in 1802, also surveyed the works at Lyne.

objects of occasional wonder to the shepherd boy who shelters beside them on his lonely watch. The area of the fortress at Lyne—a space of about six Scots acres—has been often put under cultivation; but, with the exception of a few coins, it does not appear that any reliques of its Roman occupants have ever been discovered there. Amongst the inhabitants of the neighbourhood the ramparts of the Roman station were known by the name of Randal's Walls, from a tradition that the famous Randolph, Earl of Murray,<sup>a</sup> had a house within the inclosure. It is said that the traces of a paved road leading to the camp could be observed many years ago, and that the foundations of a small redoubt were also visible in its neighbourhood. In the early part of last century Mr. Gordon saw, in the bank at the north side of the fort, a large excavation containing ashes, and stones blackened by fire, which he conjectured to have been a place appropriated by the Roman garrison to the burning of their dead; but which may more probably have been, we should think, the camping-ground of gipsies or of border thieves.

Between two and three miles to the north of Lyne station, at a place called Romana or Romano,<sup>b</sup> there is a very remarkable hill, on the declivity of which extend, for more than a mile, a series of seventeen or eighteen terraces rising above each other, and resembling, on a small scale, the parallel roads of Glenroy: each of those giant steps, as they may be called, vary, both in height and breadth, from fifteen to twenty feet, and may be distinguished at a distance of four or five miles. From the circumstance that similar terraces are to be found in the vicinity of other stations,<sup>c</sup> it has been imagined that some relation had existed between them; it is difficult, however, to form any idea of the object which the Romans could have had in view in the construction of such laborious works; and we should rather be inclined to suppose that they belong to an earlier period than the age of the Cæsars, and that they had been in some manner connected with the religious ceremonies of the Druids.<sup>d</sup> Accident may have led to the establishment of

<sup>a</sup> He commanded a part of the Scottish army at Bannockburn.

<sup>b</sup> The name is singular; but whether it speaks of Rome's "imperial day" or not, is a problem unsolved.

<sup>c</sup> At Keir, near Ardoch—Markinch in Fife—St. Oswald's in Northumberland—Middleton, Edinburghshire, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Look, indeed, to the various mounts in England, the acknowledged seats of Britain's earliest priesthood, terraced in circles to the very top.

Roman stations in the vicinity of the heights in question; or the well-known enmity of her invaders to the native priesthood of Britain may perhaps have actuated them to forward its extinction, by rearing their standards amid the very ashes of her sacred groves: at all events, we cannot perceive that those terraces have anything in common with the general characteristics of Roman military works; nor can they be at all connected, we think, with the name of *Romana*, or with the station at Lyne, which General Roy inserts in his map as the *CORDA* of Ptolemy.<sup>a</sup>

CURRIE. } The next place worthy of attention, as the probable site of a  
 } Roman fortress and dependent colony, is situated at CURRIE on the Gore water, in close proximity to the ruins of Borthwick Castle—the famed retreat of the hapless Mary and the Earl of Bothwell. We say *probable* site, for although our principal antiquarian writers coincide in believing the ancient *CURIA* to have existed at this spot, none of them have brought forward any other evidence in support of their opinion than what is to be gathered from its vicinity to the Roman way, the discovery of sepulchral urns near it, and a presumption that the ancient name has survived the lapse of ages, with little alteration.<sup>b</sup>

The Fifth *Iter* of the Westminster monk begins thus:—*A Limite Præ-turium usque sic. Curia—Ad Fines—Bremenio, &c.*<sup>c</sup> He has not specified the distances of these stations from each other: we only know that *Curia* was the first travelling stage that he knew of, in proceeding along the Eastern way from the Wall of Antoninus towards Northumberland. If this station did exist near Borthwick Castle, as is generally supposed, it would have been distant from the wall-fortress at Carriden about 26 English miles.<sup>d</sup> But, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, the main question depends on the probability, that in the present instance there really may be something “in a name;” for however certain it appears that the country

<sup>a</sup> In reference to Lyne camp—*v.* Chalm. I. 158—Sinc. Stat. Acct. XII. 9 and 564—Gough's Camd. III. 298—Gordon Itin. Septen. 114, 115—Pennicuik's Tweeddale, 19—and Roy, 123.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, 117—Chalm. I. 165—Dr. Playfair's Map. Mr. Chalmers mentions that one Roman altar was found near Currie, and that another was to be seen at Borthwick Church. He gives no authority for his statement; and we suspect that what he calls altars, are nothing but the two stone troughs mentioned in the New Stat. Account of Borthwick parish—Edin. p. 173.

<sup>c</sup> *v.* Stukeley's Comment.

<sup>d</sup> In many cases the two names *Coria* and *Curia* are confounded with each other, as in Roy's Map, “*ex exemplo Ricardi.*”

around had been a favourite locality with the Romans, we can discover no other reason to believe that they had a station at Currie, unless it be permitted to borrow some additional evidence from the fact, that one of their Vicinal ways had branched off at that spot towards the mouth of the Esk.\*

INVERESK. } A clearer light plays round his wandering steps, when the enthusiast in these "old world" pursuits takes his stand on the height above Musselburgh, and thence looks forth upon the Bodotrian Firth, and the distant shores of Fife—the presumed territory of the ancient Horestii: for there can be no question that the modern buildings of Inveresk stand upon the site of a Roman colonial or municipal town. The discoveries effected in their immediate neighbourhood show that a provincial settlement had existed there in the age of the Roman occupation; while it is not improbable that the adjacent seaport had ranked as one of some consequence among the naval stations of VALENTIA. The modern village is situated on a gentle rising ground, which extends in the form of a crescent from east to west—bounded at one extremity by the river Esk, and sloping on the other towards a streamlet called Pinkie Burn. The convex front of the height is turned towards the spreading Firth, distant about a mile; while the opposite side lies exposed to the "sweet south," covered with umbrageous woods, and numerous villas interspersed among them. It cannot be said what kind of a population inhabited this locality when it wore the livery of the deified city; but whether its early inhabitants appertained to the class of Roman colonists, or of enfranchised Britons, they seem to have been equally disposed with our modern countrymen to appreciate the advantages of the site in question. The entire ridge where the present village stands has been, to all appearance, occupied by the buildings of a Roman or Romanised community; while, from the great number of ancient foundations discovered upon its northern slope, it is highly probable that the principal part of the town had been situated in that quarter\*—overlooking the port at Fisherrow and its roadstead beyond. If, as may be conjectured, the establishment of this naval station led to the erection of a fortress in the neighbourhood, and to the assembling of a settled population under its protection, the dwelling of each new comer would be placed, we may suppose, as near as possible to the quarters of the military, and all in regular order, with an exposure towards the sea; until, from an increase of

\* Wedderburn, in Gough's *Camd.* III. 311.

population, the lengthening streets had been carried round the flanks of the hill, and gradually extended along its southern face.

But, to proceed methodically with the antiquities of Inveresk, we must commence upon the spot where so much is "gathered to an end"—the green-clad church-yard—a place sacred to many associations not a little at variance with the solemn aspect which it now puts on; for here has Rome her twofold power displayed—

"The sabre first, the crozier then in hand."

Here Somerset planted the cannon of Edward,<sup>a</sup> and Cromwell those of the "Common Weal;" while more than once, in bygone times, did the walls of its former occupant—the old church of St. Michael—resound with the din of arms and the tumult of beleagured men. The present church—built on the site of the old one—stands within what was the area of the Roman Citadel, the *fossé* of which was still visible about fifty years ago.<sup>b</sup> Down to the middle of last century, a part of this trench lay on the line of a country road, forming a sort of hollow way along a portion of its course; but it was afterwards inclosed within the grounds of Inveresk Villa, situated a little to the eastward. Patten no doubt alludes to this passage within the ditch of the Roman station, when, on the subject of Somerset's preparations, just before the battle of Pinkie,<sup>c</sup> he says—"Fro this hil of Fauxside Bray descended my Lorde's Grace, my Lord Lieutenant, and anoother along before their cāpe (camp), within les than ii flightshottes into a lane or strete of a xxx foot brode, fenced on either side with a wall of turf an elle of height: whiche wey did lead straigh northwarde and nie to a church called Saint Mighel's of Undreske,<sup>d</sup> stonding upon a mean rising hill." He farther adds, that the English commander directed that part of his ordnance should be planted under the wall of the aforesaid lane, and on the side next to the Scottish camp, as well as "upo the hill nie to Undreske church."<sup>e</sup> Within the burial-ground stood two earthen mounds, familiarly called "Oliver's Mounts," and hence supposed to have been raised by Cromwell; this, however, was not the case, as they are taken notice of by Patten, who visited the Kirk of St.

<sup>a</sup> During the battle of Pinkie—*c.* Patten's diary of the Protector's expedition.

<sup>b</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acct. XVI. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Fought, Sept. 10, 1547.

<sup>d</sup> Inveresk is usually so written in old records.

<sup>e</sup> Patten's Expedition, pp. 48 and 52.



Michael more than a hundred years before the "crowning mercy" at Dunbar had made the future Lord Protector master of Scotland. Nor, for the same reason, can they be ascribed to Dessè, who commanded the French auxiliaries, sent, during Queen Mary's infancy, to aid the anti-English party in Scotland, for he did not occupy the position at Inveresk until the summer of 1548.<sup>a</sup> We must therefore search for their origin in earlier times than either the days of the Commonwealth or of Mary Stuart; and, if not permitted to agree with Lord Hailes in regarding them as Roman works, it will be difficult to arrive at any conclusive opinion as to the actual period of their formation. The Rev. Dr. Carlyle concludes that these mounds must be of modern date, because, when one of them was removed,<sup>b</sup> the foundation of a monument, as he calls it, was found under it, at the depth of about seven feet below the surface, beneath which were deposited a number of human bones, in complete preservation; from this circumstance he inferred that the spot had been made use of as a place of interment, before the defences referred to were in existence. It must, however, be remembered, that the Romans generally buried their dead close to the exterior line of the ramparts of their permanent stations; the so-called foundation stones may, therefore, have been nothing more than the usual covering of one of those narrow cells in which the remains of the legionary soldier were at times deposited: the one view is, at all events, as probable as the other.<sup>c</sup> The vestiges of ancient masonry discovered along the edges of those mounds somewhat confirm the opinion of Lord Hailes: it has been found that on the line of Antoninus's Wall many of the larger forts had their *valla* faced with stone—a practice which was probably followed likewise at Inveresk, and at all the great stations established by the Romans in North Britain. The celebrated Napier of Merchiston, in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, takes notice, when alluding to the Idols of Pagan Rome, of an altar discovered at Inveresk; and Camden gives the following as an accurate copy of the inscription which it

<sup>a</sup> See New Statistical Account of Edinburghshire, p. 254, &c. which contains an excellent description of whatever is interesting about Inveresk, from the justly-celebrated pen of Dr. Moir.

<sup>b</sup> About the year 1790—*v. Sinc. Stat. Acct. XVI. 24.* One of them still remains.

<sup>c</sup> The Romans, on many occasions, buried their dead—although burning was more commonly practised down to the time of Theodosius the Great—*v. Pliny, Lib. VII. ch. 54—Gordon Itin. 181—and Whittaker's Manches. I. 54.*

bore.<sup>a</sup> We give a transcript of the original, followed by what is supposed to be the meaning of the contracted words:—

|               |                             |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| APOLLINI      | APOLLINI                    |
| GRANNO        | GRANNICO,                   |
| Q. LVSIUS     | QUINTUS LUSIUS <sup>b</sup> |
| SABINIA       | SABINIANUS,                 |
| NVS           | PROCONSUL                   |
| PROC          | AUGUSTI, VOTUM              |
| AVG           | SUSCEPTUM SOLVIT LUBENS     |
| V. SS. L.V.M. | VOLENS MERITO               |

*“To Apollo Granicus, Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, the Proconsul of Augustus [dedicates this], a self-imposed vow, cheerfully performed.”*

According to Camden, Napier of Merchiston was the first to take any particular notice of this altar; and its discovery has, in consequence, been ascribed to the period when he wrote.<sup>c</sup> But this is a mistake: as we find, by the following extract from her treasurer's accounts, that it had been found in the spring of 1565, and that Queen Mary of Scotland had interested herself in the preservation, apparently of this, among other relics:—

“Aprile 1565:—Item to ane Boy passand of Edinburgh with ane charge of the Queenis Grace, direct to the Baillies of Mussilburgh, charging thame to tak diligent heid and attendance, that the Monument of Grit Antiquitie new fundin be nocht demolisit nor broken down; xii d.”

The remains of a Roman Bath were laid open at the time the altar was discovered, and they are no doubt likewise referred to in the treasurer's memorandum. In proof, however, that the inscription to Apollo formed a part of the “Monument” above mentioned, there is a letter in the State-paper Office, from Elizabeth's ambassador Randolphe to Sir William Cecil, dated 18th April, 1565, in which, turning for a moment from the graver affairs of state, he informs the minister that—“The cave found bysyds Muskelbounge seemeth to be some monument of the Romaines, by a stone that was found, w<sup>th</sup> these words greven upon hym. ‘Appolini Granno Q.L. Sabinianus Proc. Aug.’ [and] Dyvers short pillars sette upright upon the ground covered w<sup>th</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Gough's Edit. III. 304.

<sup>b</sup> The prenomen *Lusius* is frequently given in Gruter. *Lucius* or *Luscius* is, however, more common.

<sup>c</sup> He published his work on the Revelations in 1593.

tyle stones, large and thyucke, torning into dyvers angles and certayne places lyke unto chynes [chimnies?] to awoide smoke. Thys is all that I can gather therof."<sup>a</sup>

It is somewhat curious to find the youthful Queen of Scots and the intriguing emissary of Elizabeth equally bestowing their attention on a matter of this kind. The latter appears to have written as if in answer to some inquiry made by Cecil on the subject. What, it may be asked, could the impervious Burleigh have had to interest him in the discovery of such remains? Was *he* an antiquary at heart—and did he tear his thoughts at times from council and from court to steal into the solitude of such pursuits? Or was his eye already so intently fixed on all that took place beyond the border marches, that it never closed, even to the most trifling occurrences of the passing day? Perhaps this is the most probable conjecture, and the notice which Randolph took of them may possibly have occurred in consequence of some visit paid by the Scottish Queen to those antique remains.

As regards the inscription, the epithet *Grannicus* is conjectured to signify the "long-haired."<sup>b</sup> The golden locks of Apollo were often made the theme of the Latin poets, and formed an important item in the *beau-ideal* of personal beauty to the youth of Rome, who were accustomed to pride themselves on the luxuriance of their flowing tresses, until the period of their entrance upon the threshold of manhood—when, with the pursuits of boyhood, its other accompaniments were all "laid down."<sup>c</sup> A somewhat similar inscription is mentioned by Breval as existing at Stuttgart, in which the legend reads *Apollini Granico*: but whether or not the title here given actually referred to the imaginary graces of so famous a divinity, we cannot pretend to say. The Greeks had a temple at Athens to Apollo *Grynæus*—a title derived from a town in Aeolia; and there may perhaps be some connection between this appellative and that which was inscribed upon the stone at Inveresk.<sup>d</sup>

In the year 1783, whilst workmen were engaged in the improvement of some garden ground, a short distance to the eastward of the church, they came, at the depth of two or three feet, on the floors and foundations of various buildings, which, in course of their operations, were laid open over

<sup>a</sup> v. Trans. Scot. Antiq. II. 288. <sup>b</sup> Camden. <sup>c</sup> D'Arnay, Vie Priv. des Rom. ch. IV.

<sup>d</sup> v. Gough's Camden, III. 310—Sibbald, Histor. Inq. 48 and 49. We cannot trace what became of this altar: it seems to have disappeared before the close of the sixteenth century.

an extent of 60 feet in length by 23 feet broad. The whole of this space was paved with a kind of mortar, known by the name of *tarras*, and was intersected at intervals by distinct traces of stone walls, among which might be observed the inclosures of two separate chambers, the evident remains of a Roman Bath. The largest room measured 15 by 9 feet, the other 9 by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ : and the floors of both were composed of a coating of *tarras*, two inches thick; laid, in the case of the first, upon a layer of lime, gravel, and pieces of brick, five inches deep, which again rested on a basement of irregular flag-stones; the whole being supported on rows of pillars two feet in height, some of them formed of stone, and others of brick:<sup>a</sup> but in the smallest chamber, the coarse substratum of lime and gravel was ten inches in thickness, as if this part of the building had been required to sustain a greater degree of heat than the other—a supposition extremely probable, from the circumstance that the pillars below bore evident marks of having been much injured by fire. A quantity of charcoal was found beside them, in good preservation, as if placed there to renew the glow of a furnace which had been suddenly and for ever extinguished. Under the first apartment the heat had been conducted by means of flues formed of clay, which were found quite perfect when the discovery was made; the partition wall between the two rooms was pierced near the ground by a hole three inches in diameter, through which a pipe of some description had no doubt led, as a conduit for water from the one to the other.<sup>b</sup>

Such were the most perfect of the ruins brought to light at the period referred to; but all around them were to be seen the remains of other chambers, which had evidently been of a similar construction. Taken in the aggregate, they unquestionably marked the position of an establishment of no mean importance in its day—the public baths of the Roman Inveresk. Of their

<sup>a</sup> See PLATE IV. FIG. 1, for a Plan of the site on which these remains were discovered, and FIG. 2 for a representation of part of the floor, supported by the small stone columns. The letters upon the plan indicate as follows:—

- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| A. The Bowling Green.                         | EEE. The Church-yard.  |
| B. The Court where the ruins were discovered. | FF. Earthen mounds.    |
| C. Place where the Baths had stood.           | G. Church of Inveresk. |
| DDD. Public Road.                             |                        |

FIG. 3, on the same Plate, exhibits the drawing of a square pillar, built of brick, several of which were discovered among the ruins—(v. Trans. of Scot. Antiquaries, Vol. II.)

<sup>b</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acc. XVI. 4—Gough's Camd. III. 310.

high antiquity there can be no doubt; for every particular mentioned proclaims them Roman—the very cement covering the floors was of a quality unequalled by the skill of later times, and was formed of exactly the same materials as the *tarras* which lined the capacious sewers of the “eternal city.”

Many other foundations, with a similar description of pavement, were a few years earlier laid open, when a bowling green was being formed to the westward of the *Thermae* just mentioned. Roman bricks have also been found in considerable numbers in this locality; many of which are said to have been made use of in the walls of the old church of St. Michael the Archangel, already noticed, a building of great but unknown antiquity, demolished in 1804. Fragments of clay pipes, common earthenware, and pottery made of a species of fire-clay, have been also from time to time disinterred at Inveresk. The bricks are of a very close substance, full of small river pebbles, but with a perfectly smooth surface; the earthenware is of a reddish colour, blackened by a careless mode of burning; the pipes are of an oblong form, fifteen inches in length, with an orifice five inches by three, much discoloured in the inside, evidently from the effects of smoke; (*See PLATE IV. FIG. 4.*) The pottery is of a substance superior to Stourbridge clay, and has been declared by competent judges to equal that of the black crucibles imported from Holland. No material of the kind has ever been discovered in this country; from which we may conclude, that the vessels composed of it had been of old imported from the continent.<sup>a</sup> To the above list may be added Sepulchral Urns, of which one very fine specimen was dug up in Inveresk church-yard, about fourteen years ago. It was, in Dr. Moir's words, “of *terra cotta*, strongly burned, and glazed without and within, with a surmounting wreath, representing alternately flowers and figures.” Unfortunately this curious relique was broken to pieces in the moment of discovery, and only a few of its fragments have been preserved.<sup>b</sup>

Along the whole ridge of the height, from the site of the citadel to Pinkie Burn, so many remains of ancient pavements existed towards the end of last century, that the plough could not, in several places, penetrate the ground; and wherever this was the case, all vegetation was, in dry seasons, at a stop. Scattered or fragmentary foundations have likewise been met with in several

<sup>a</sup> Wedderburn's Letter to Mr. Cardonnell—Gough's *Camd.* III. 310.

<sup>b</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Edinburghshire, p. 257.

other spots besides those already mentioned; while Roman coins have been met with all along the hill of Inveresk: amongst them one of gold, much defaced, supposed to be an *aureus* of Trajan, and another of copper, in good preservation, bearing the legend *Diva Faustina*. Some vaults or subterranean passages were also brought to light during the formation of a road in the vicinity of the church;<sup>a</sup> these had most probably belonged to the Roman fortress, and may have been used for the same purposes as those discovered at so many other stations. Many a silent witness indeed presents itself to support the proof which attests the antiquity of Inveresk—assembling, it may be said, a crowd of minor relics around the dilapidated baths and the altar of Apollo.

To all appearance, therefore, the height near the mouth of the Esk, and by which it winds just before reaching the sea, formed of old the chief centre of population in that district. Chalmers conjectures that many of the Roman officers had erected villas along the salubrious shores of Mid Lothian.<sup>b</sup> If such was the case, the environs of a station like that at Inveresk could not have been destitute of their enlivening presence; and certainly there were few places along the Firth where Italian luxury could have introduced, with better effect, some of that elegance and comfort which might serve to recall to the military exile the delights of Baïæ and of the “Volscian strand.”

A suburb, if we may so call it, existed no doubt at Fisherrow, the Roman seaport. Tradition reports that the remains of ancient baths have been likewise discovered there, resembling those laid open upon the neighbouring height; and to this day it is contended that one of the two bridges connecting Musselburgh with Fisherrow can date its origin from the era of the Roman occupation.<sup>c</sup> The traces of a Roman camp have but lately disappeared from the low ground to the south-west of Inveresk; while, some fifty or sixty years ago, many people were still living who remembered the existence of a causewayed road which led from Musselburgh directly towards it,<sup>d</sup> and which had been thence continued as far as Borthwick Castle: another Roman way is known to have pursued the line of coast from Musselburgh to the westward;<sup>e</sup> all those *vestigia* proving, in some degree, that the country in this neighbourhood had not been left unimproved by its ancient invaders.

<sup>a</sup> Wedderburn in Gough's *Camd.*

<sup>b</sup> *Caled.* I. 164.

<sup>c</sup> See both Old and New Stat. Acc. of the parish.

<sup>d</sup> *Camd.* III. 312.

<sup>e</sup> Sibbald, *Histor. Inq.* p. 39—Chalm. I. 143—Maitland's *Scotland*, I. 194.

CRAMOND. } Sir Robert Sibbald places a Roman Colony at Edinburgh,  
 and a Naval Station at Leith; apparently for the sole reason  
 that such promising localities were not likely to have escaped the keen  
 penetration of the Imperial lieutenants.\* If there ever did exist any less  
 speculative foundation in support of this opinion, it has disappeared unnoticed;  
 and in the field of these inquiries—"Scotia's darling seat"—her "palaces and  
 towers" must yield the palm to the quiet and unaspiring village of Cramond.

This place is situated on the Firth of Forth, at the mouth of the river  
 Almond, and is about ten miles distant from Inveresk. Its modern appellation  
 is no doubt derived from the British *Caer-amen*, the "Fort on the Amon;"<sup>b</sup>  
 proving, as in many other instances, that it is easier for a conqueror to change  
 the entire character of a people than to rob a native village of its first-borne  
 name. Among the Romans it is supposed to have been known by the design-  
 nation of *ALATERRA*.<sup>c</sup>

Like Inveresk, the village of Cramond had long since attracted attention,  
 in consequence of one discovery after another having shed an interest round  
 the spot as a depository of Roman remains. Time has long mingled with  
 the dust every vestige of the presumed *ALATERRA*, as it must at one period  
 have met the traveller's eye, while he journeyed along the military way which  
 led through its street towards the wall of Antoninus: we allude to the  
 ramparts of its citadel, the *Pharos*, perhaps, of its harbour, its walls, its  
 habitations, and its gates—in short, to whatever existed on the surface of the  
 soil; as, according to all accounts, few or no external appearances have, for  
 at least a couple of centuries, been visible there—such as might have betrayed  
 the secrets which were entombed below, and led to a knowledge of its anti-  
 quarian claims. The discoveries made at Cramond have been stumbled upon  
 amid the dust only of its former existence; and, although they tell us nothing  
 of its ancient condition or extent, they are not the less interesting as the  
 memorials of an early civilisation.

The remains of Baths, similar to those met with at Inveresk, the pavement  
 of a subterranean street, and the strongly-cemented under-courses of a mole  
 or dock-wall, are, we believe, the only traces of masonry worthy of notice

\* His. Inq. 33, 41.

<sup>b</sup> The word *Amon* signifies, in Celtic, "a River"—v. Wood's Cramond.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, 118—Horsley, 205, 354. Sir R. Sibbald prefers *ALAUNA*.

which have been discovered at the mouth of the Almond, and which may be ascribed to the era of the Roman occupation.<sup>a</sup> In other respects, the village of Cramond has been surpassed by few places in Scotland in the value of its contributions to the cabinets of our collectors: in coins and medals especially, it has proved a valuable field. We learn from Gordon that, even prior to the beginning of last century, an incredible number of Roman coins had been discovered there—a number to which time has since made many additions. Amongst them may be mentioned specimens from the mintage of Augustus, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Septimus Severus, Caracalla, and Dioclesian; along with some pieces which he terms Consular Medals.<sup>b</sup> If from such a list, in which but few links are wanting to complete a chain extending throughout the first two centuries of the Imperial government, we be allowed to draw any inference as to the date or continuance of the Roman authority at Cramond, we should certainly have every reason to suppose that the presence of the legionary soldier had been known there, from almost the first hour of Rome's Caledonian triumphs until far into the evening watches of her declining fortune. But, as was formerly observed, the discovery of ancient money cannot be supposed to throw any great degree of light upon matters of local chronology; excepting perhaps in this one respect, that where we find the coinage of any particular emperor scattered among the ruins of a Roman station—such, for instance, as those of Dioclesian on the site of the presumed *ALATERRA*—we may with some reason conjecture that its citizens had either maintained an alliance with the Romans subsequent to the time of his reign, or that, down to the same period, the place itself had been retained in the possession of a Roman garrison.

Among the coins discovered at Cramond may be noticed a “great brass” of Claudius Cæsar, which was struck to commemorate his adoption of Nero, in the 50th year of the Christian era; on the obverse is represented a portrait of the Emperor, encircled by the usual legend, *TI CLAVDIVS CÆSAR AVG PM TRP IMP*; the reverse exhibits a figure on horseback, surmounting a triumphal arch, with a standard on each side of him, and bears the inscription, *NERO CLAVDIVS DEVSVS*. We may also mention a medal of Dioclesian,<sup>c</sup> containing

<sup>a</sup> Sibbald, *Histor. Inquiries*, p. 33—Wood's *Cramond*, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>b</sup> *z.* Gordon *Itin.* p. 116—Sibbald, p. 33—Horsley, p. 205.      <sup>c</sup> He died A.D. 316.



a female figure, ascertained to be the national Genius of the Empire, by the accompanying legend—*GENIO POPVLI ROMANI*: and another of the Emperor Septimus Severus, supposed to have been struck in remembrance of his peace with the Caledonians; it is inscribed on the reverse *FVNDATOR PACIS*: and, as it appears from the words of Spartian<sup>a</sup> that he did come to terms with our Northern Tribes, nothing is more probable than that the worn-out majesty of Rome had thought proper, on that occasion, to make the most of a somewhat questionable advantage, by representing his peace with the untamed *Caledonii* in the light of a triumph, and by striking a medal to commemorate its accomplishment. This medal may possibly have been executed at the mint in York, whence it was perhaps sent forth over the Roman world; to chronicle, as usual, the success and the glory of the imperial arms.<sup>b</sup>

A very ancient anchor, presumed to be Roman, and a ball of iron, formed of two pieces joined together, which, according to Sir R. Sibbald, may not improbably represent one description of the missiles discharged from the *Balista*,<sup>c</sup> have been likewise brought from Cramond; but the interest which attaches to all those minor relics of her antiquity must fade before the higher claim of the Roman inscriptions which have been found beside them. Of such remains brought to light at Cramond, the first is an altar raised by a cohort of Tungrian auxiliaries—Germans from the banks of the Meuse, bearing the following inscription, as copied by Gordon, and restored by Horsley:—

MATRIB ALA  
TERVIS ET  
MATRIB CAM  
PESTRI COH  
TVNGE INS  
VEP. SNM  
OIR<sup>a</sup> XXVV

MATRIBUS ALATERVIS  
ET MATRIBUS CAMPESTRIBUS  
COHORS PRIMA TUNGRORUM.  
INSTITUERUNT SACRAM ARAM,  
CONLAPSAM RESTITUIT [LEGIO]  
VICESIMA VALENS VICTRIX.<sup>d</sup>

(See PLATE IV. FIG. 6.)

<sup>a</sup> “. . . *non solum victor, sed etiam in æternum pace fundata volvens animo quid omnis sibi occurreret, &c.*—Script. Hist. Aug.—*v. Ante Histor. Trans.*

<sup>b</sup> *v. Gordon Itin.* 117—Horsley, 62, 205. The Emperor Severus appears to have struck various pieces of money in commemoration of his British victories. Of these the most valued perhaps is that of which we have given a representation in PLATE IV. FIG. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Inq. 33. From the value of iron, however, it could not have been much used in this way: stones rounded for the purpose were no doubt the more common ammunition—*v. “Wall of Antoninus—Auchindavy.”*

<sup>d</sup> This altar appears to be no longer in existence. Our drawing is taken from a copy given by Gordon.

All that follows the contraction TVNG, excepting the letters xxvv, is of doubtful import: we give what seems the most plausible restoration of the sentence,<sup>a</sup> although by no means confident on the subject. Allowing it to be correct, we are led to understand that the aforesaid altar, or one of a similar character, had been erected by the First Tungrian Cohort to the *Deæ Matres* of ALATERVA, and to those of the Fields; and that, having been broken or otherwise injured, possibly during some victorious inroad of the Caledonian Tribes, it had been restored by the 20th Legion, surnamed *Valens Victrix*—showing them perhaps to have been the retrievers of a post, which the auxiliary cohorts had been compelled to abandon.

The *Deæ Matres* formed a class of minor Divinities amongst the Germans and other northern nations: they are thought to have been deified women, who, while on earth, were believed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy.<sup>b</sup> Ariovistus the German king appears to have had some such oracles in his camp when he was opposed to Cæsar, who states, in his Commentaries on the Gallic War,<sup>c</sup> that on inquiring of his prisoners the reason why Ariovistus so obstinately refused to fight, he was informed by them that the women had decided by divination, and had given their voices against the hazard of a battle; and that Ariovistus was entirely governed by their advice. Strabo mentions that many female prophets followed the *Cimbri* to the invasion of Italy; while Tacitus gives us the names of one or two who were revered as divinities by their countrymen amid the Suevian forests. He refers also to the existence of inspired females among the southern Britons, when recording the preparations for their projected attack, in Nero's reign, on the Roman colony of *Camulodunum* (Maldon in Essex). The image of Victory erected there by the Romans, fell, he says, without apparent cause, turning itself backwards, as if in submission to the enemies of Rome; and the inspired women, in consequence of this and other omens, declared that the destruction of the place was at hand.<sup>d</sup>

The most celebrated, if not the entire race of those favoured mortals, the fortune-tellers of ancient Europe, were presumed to have been exalted after death to the rank of superior beings—to be worshipped thence.

<sup>a</sup> v. Hors. 205.—Sibb. 47.—Gough's Camd. III. 317.

<sup>b</sup> Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiq.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. I. c. 40.

<sup>d</sup> Annal. Lib XIV. c. 32.

forward in the number of the immortals, as the tutelar deities or genii of those particular localities which had respectively known them during their sojourn on earth. These were of a character quite different from the *Deæ Nymphæ*—the aerial warders of mount and stream; and from the *Deæ Campestres*, which are coupled with the “*Matres*” on the altar before us—who presided over agriculture and rural affairs in general.<sup>a</sup>

The affix *Alatervis* has given rise to the idea that *Alaterva* was the name bestowed by the Romans on the colony at Cramond. It is unnecessary, however, to enter into any disquisitions on a point of inquiry but little calculated to repay the time that might be spent upon it. Other opportunities will occur of saying a few words on the history of the various legions and auxiliary cohorts which are found mentioned on our Scottish inscriptions: in the meantime, we proceed with those which were found at Cramond. The next demanding our attention is an altar dedicated to Jove—“the most excellent and the greatest”—by the fifth cohort of the Gauls, commanded by the Præfect Iminius Honorius Tertullus.

I. O. M.  
COH. V. GALL.  
CVI PR EEST  
IMINI HONV  
TERTVLLVS  
PRAEF VSL  
LM

JOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO  
COHORS QUINTA GALLORUM  
CUI PRAEEST IMINIUS  
HONIUS [or HONORIUS] TERTULLUS,  
PRÆFECTUS, VOTUM SOLVIT  
LUBENS LIBENS [or LIBENTISSIME]

MERITO<sup>b</sup>

(See PLATE IV. FIG. 5.)

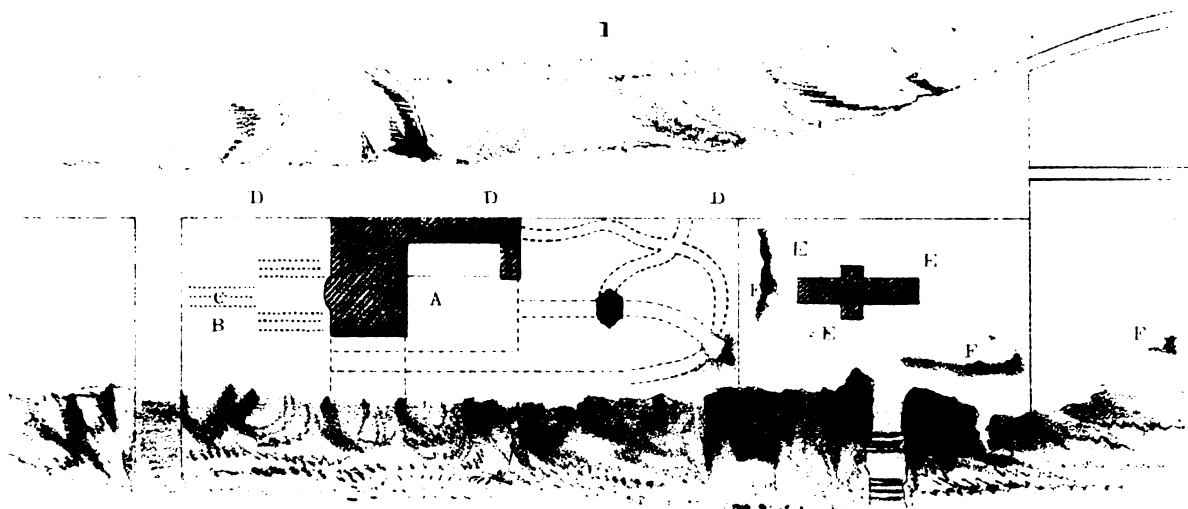
The “Father of Olympus,” propitiated on the shores of Forth by the Celtæ of Belgium or of Aquitain—his altars smoking there with the incense of outpoured libations—sprinkled perhaps with the wines of Spain and the blood of our Caledonian bulls<sup>c</sup>—forms a singular picture to look back upon, through all the changes which have from first to last involved the condition of this island: yet here is the proof of its reality, and the stone in question as truly records the fact as if we saw it even now lit up with the sacred fire, and the priest bending over it in his sacerdotal robes with the sacrificial *patera* in hand.

<sup>a</sup> v. Hors. 201 and 222—Sibbald, 47, who seems to coincide with Burton in discovering an affinity between the former and the Roman deities Vesta, Matuta, and Tellus. We again meet with the *Deæ Matres* among the inscriptions found on the Wall of Antoninus.

<sup>b</sup> Now in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh—size, 42 inches high by 18 broad at the base.

<sup>c</sup> The white bull was regarded as peculiarly acceptable to Jove.

1



PLAN OF THE ROMAN BATHS & DISCOVERED AT INVERESK.

7



GRAMOND.

2



INVERESK.

3



INVERESK.

4



INVERESK.

6



GRAMOND.

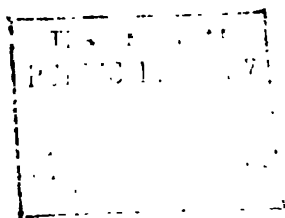
5



GRAMOND.

8





Part of a third votive altar was also discovered at this place. It had no inscription, but bore on one side the representation of a horned head and bearded face; the usual circular cavity on the top in which the offerings were deposited was quite perfect, and distinctly marked by the action of fire. Mr. Horsley conjectures<sup>a</sup> that the sculpture on this fragment was meant to represent either Jupiter Ammon or the rural deity Silvanus—but most probably the latter.\*

Another stone, dug up at Cramond, has the following letters inscribed upon it:—

IV LEG II AVG SA  
FECIT

LEGIO SECUNDA AUGUSTA  
JU | FECIT | SSA<sup>b</sup>

(See PLATE IV. FIG. 7.)

*i.e. Fecit Jussa*—which signifies that—*The Second Legion, surnamed Augusta, had executed this by command.* What the word *Fecit* here alludes to cannot be determined; the stone itself is a small rude affair, which had evidently been fixed in some wall or building erected by the labours of the *Legio Secunda*, and to which the inscription no doubt refers. This may have been a granary or storehouse, an armoury, a public well, or any similar fabric of general utility, too well known, when the stone was placed upon it, to require any mention of its particular purpose. The form of the border which incloses the words is often to be met with upon the Roman sculptures.

We may here take notice of a fourth inscription, which, although said to have been found at Ingliston, about four miles distant from Cramond, may very probably have belonged to that station, and have been removed from it at some unknown period. The stone is now lost; but the legend has been preserved—it is as follows:—

AVG. COS. IV  
GERMANICVS  
PONTIFEX MAX<sup>c</sup>

AUGUSTUS, CONSUL QUARTUM,  
GERMANICUS,  
PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.

This had evidently formed part of a pillar, and the above can only be a

<sup>a</sup> Brit. Rom. p. 204.

<sup>b</sup> Gordon reads it differently—(Itin. p. 116). The above is certainly the correct explanation. On this point Mr. Horsley says that a single letter is often put for a double one in such inscriptions: thus we find IVSIR for IVSSIR in Gruter (p. 1; 5.) *Jussa* is the same with *Es Jussa*.

<sup>c</sup> Gough's Camd. III. 317.

mere fragment of the inscription. As to the Imperial name which ought to precede those titles, who shall decide? shall we say CARACALLA, because he is the only one to whom we find the words *cos. iv.* applied among all the inscribed remains discovered in Britain—or DOMITIAN, in consequence of the *furor* displayed against his memory,<sup>a</sup> and which waged war with his name in every shape—striking it out from places high and low, with as much industry as the Bourbon spirit obliterated the ten thousand N's of imperial France? The vacant space may be supplied with either; but the name of ANTONINUS CARACALLA is probably the correct one.

Accident may yet present us with some additional relics of this ancient colony, to cast perhaps a brighter light on the particular era of its existence, as well as on the condition of its inhabitants, in so far as regards the conveniences or the luxuries of life which were introduced among them. Enough has, however, already appeared to show that a Romanised community had been established at the mouth of the Almond. A colony, we may believe, of some importance—the rival perhaps of Inveresk, in the coasting traffic of our eastern shores, and in the trade of providing supplies for the garrisons in the Lothians. The station of ALATERRA is not mentioned by Ptolemy, nor does Richard of Cirencester take notice of it in any of his *Itinera*. Neither of them, however, can be considered as infallible guides; their “sins of omission” are by no means few in number, and no one can properly bring forward their merely negative authority, to disprove the evidence of such discoveries as have in modern times been made at Cramond;<sup>b</sup> especially as regards the former existence of a Roman colony on the spot, most probably named *Alaterra*, although the subject is somewhat deficient of proof.

From Cramond the ancient causeway was continued along the coast as far as Carriden, near Borrowstoness. Between these two stations the Roman occupants of VALENTIA are supposed to have had several military posts. Queensferry, the Castle of Abercorn,<sup>c</sup> Springfield, and Blackness, are all

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camd.*

<sup>b</sup> Sir J. Clark, writing in 1725, observes that Ptolemy probably made a mistake in this instance, as he has clearly done in some others, when translating the Latin *Alatorum* or *Castra Alatorum* into Greek. This last he thinks the proper reading of Ptolemy's *αγαρων σπαρταριδων*, in which case his *Castrum Alatum* will become *Castra Alaterra*, and refer to Cramond rather than to Edinburgh, as some will have it—*v.* Gord. *Itin.* 180.

<sup>c</sup> This ancient fortalice of the middle ages is now entirely demolished. Its site, a green-covered mound, may, however, still be seen within the parks of Hopetoun House.

supposed to occupy the sites of Roman stations. Near Queensferry were to be seen, about a hundred years ago, the remains of what was thought to have been a Roman watch-tower, and at the same place were found some silver coins of Marcus Aurelius, the ornamented handle of a copper vessel, and the lower part of an earthen vase, on which was stamped the word *ADIECTI*.<sup>a</sup> Several remains of foundations, believed to be Roman, were removed from Springfield about the year 1795.<sup>b</sup> Abercorn is reported to have at one time possessed the traces of an antiquity much more remote than that of the Culdee settlers, who in the seventh century founded a monastery there; while Blackness has not only been pretty generally looked upon as the site of a Roman fortress, but is also by some authors regarded as having formed the termination of the northern wall.<sup>c</sup> The line of road which led by the several places mentioned, rendered them all more or less suitable for the establishment of watch-towers or other sea-coast stations: for such purposes the high ground at Abercorn and the projecting rocks at Blackness were particularly well adapted. The position of Queensferry, at the narrowest part of the Firth, was in itself sufficient to command attention; and if the Imperial officers had really thought proper to establish detached garrison-parties along the shore in that direction, they certainly could not have chosen more favourable situations than those which have been named.

LINLITHGOW. } We have now gone over nearly the entire province of  
VALENTIA, or Roman Scotland within the Wall of Antoninus, in so far as modern research enables the inquirer to ascertain the position of its chief garrison-stations, military colonies, or other establishments. There remains but one place to be mentioned, which, although now destitute of any evidence to support such views, has been too often referred to as having been the probable site of a Roman station, to be here overlooked. This is Linlithgow, the deserted seat of chivalric life, and regal *bonhomie*,<sup>d</sup> where the memory of the gallant James the Fifth, and of him, the no less knightly king, who perilled all upon that fatal day when

"Shiver'd was fair Scotland's spear  
And broken was her shield."

<sup>a</sup> *Sinc. Stat. Acc.* I. 238.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* XX. 399.

<sup>c</sup> *See Roy*, 164—*Chalm.* I. 167.

<sup>d</sup> "Regius hic lacus est Lucrinus, Cæsaris unda:  
Plus habet hic luxus, plus habet, ille dapis."



usurps so wide, so high a place, that its feeble claims to any more remote antiquity can, we suspect, have but little chance of attracting attention. Sir R. Sibbald observes that a Roman camp stood where the Royal Palace stands now; and he supposes the town to be indebted for its rise to the planting of an ancient garrison in this locality; a spot which he tells us was not only easy of defence, but also most advantageously placed with regard to supplies, as it was situated "on a loch furnishing many fine pykes, pearches, and eels, and being frequented by water-foules."<sup>a</sup> Mr. Chalmers conjectures the Gadeni Britons to have had a village at Linlithgow, and the Romans to have established a settlement in its place.<sup>b</sup> Camden barely alludes to it as the supposed site of a Roman town, without giving any reason for his saying so.<sup>c</sup> But, with the exception of Sir R. Sibbald's camp, we do not hear of any discoveries having been made at Linlithgow sufficient to bear otherwise than very lightly on its connection with the Roman era. The foundation of the palace, with its parterre walks and "shady arbours green," coupled with the spread of improvement which must have accompanied the Scottish court into its summer retreats, have been, it may be supposed, the principal causes of sweeping away all traces of the Roman presence, should any memorials of an earlier age have ever crossed the path of "pomp and circumstance" advancing there. We may at least venture on this assumption as a probable reason for the total disappearance of its more ancient remains.

Within the parish of Linlithgow the traces of two supposed Roman camps may be faintly perceived; one of them situated at the bottom of the hill of Cocklerue, the other on an eminence near Ochiltree Mill.<sup>d</sup> The remains of a causewayed road, evidently part of an ancient vicinal way, are still visible upon the summit of the rising grounds which border the northern side of Linlithgow Loch. About sixty years ago, there was turned up by the plough, on the Boroughmuir, to the eastward of the town, an earthen vase, containing upwards of three hundred Roman *denarii*, all of the higher empire, and of the respective coinage of Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan,

<sup>a</sup> Hist. of Linlithgowshire—Edin. 1710, p. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Caled. I. 166—Camden places here the *Lindum* of Ptolemy and Richard—a name which is generally thought to apply more properly to Ardoch. <sup>c</sup> III. 305.

<sup>d</sup> v. Sinc. Stat. Acc. XIV. 547.

Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius;\* along with several pieces struck in honour of Faustina, the wife of Antoninus Pius—a description very frequently met with in Scotland; the whole forming, it may be, the accumulated savings of some veteran of the *Triarian* bands; consigned, for want of a safer place of deposit, to the secret keeping of that deserted spot which was destined to enjoy for ages the heirship of his wealth.

On recurring to what has been said of the stations situated within the rampart of Antoninus, it may be proper to observe, that many of them were probably occupied by the Romans, either uninterruptedly or at successive intervals, for a period of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred years; that is, from the arrival of Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, about the year 138, until the beginning of the fifth century; when the greatest part of the Roman forces was recalled from this Island to oppose the devastating march of Alaric, who, at the head of his Goths, Vandals, and Alans, was then passing through Cisalpine Gaul, and threatening the destruction of Rome. During this long period, so many changes must have occurred among the Colonies or *Municipia* within the limits of VALENTIA—the consequences of warfare or the fruits of peace—that by the time of Honorius, when the empire was tottering to its fall, the transactions of Agricola or of Urbicus were probably regarded by the provincial inhabitants as, even then, connected with an era of considerable antiquity, which were only preserved from oblivion by the traditionary stories of battles fought in other days, and by such remains of their labours as, however much altered, were never completely effaced. The Caledonian wall, for instance, and the military roads—these must have preserved the memory of their constructors, when many of their other works—the Camp, the Citadel, and the early buildings of the towns—had all been so much improved by later commanders that their original condition was entirely changed. Some of the inscribed stones may also have long remained where they had been erected, to tell of the various corps which had served in more ancient times, although it is probable that many of those exhibited in the accompanying plates were thrown down and buried during the earliest forays of the northern tribes. On the whole, it is

\* N. Stat. Acc. Linlithg. p. 172. They were claimed by the town of Linlithgow as superior of the Boroughmuir, and a great many of them were presented to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

evident, from the usual course of events, that a considerable change must have crept over the appearance and condition of the province, during the centuries which followed upon those times with which, in an historical point of view, we are best acquainted—the ages of Domitian and of Antoninus Pius; and we may conclude, with some degree of probability, that a great majority of the Roman remains discovered to the south of the Forth belong to the lower periods of the empire.

Beyond the wall it is very much the reverse; for, with the exception of Dumbarton and Camelon, there is no reason to believe that any of the towns or stations within the province of *VESPASIANA*<sup>a</sup> were ever permanently occupied by the Romans, after they had been abandoned, as is believed, by the lieutenants of Aurelius the philosopher, about the year 170.<sup>b</sup> The Roman remains of the northern districts may therefore be regarded as laying claim to a somewhat greater and more unmixed antiquity than the generality of those which have been met with in the southern parts of Scotland; as it appears all but certain, that the luxuries of Rome's declining years never penetrated much beyond the guarded isthmus; and that on the farther side of its defensive barrier we encounter chiefly the military relics of the earlier occupation.

DUMBARTON. } Dumbarton Castle, the *Alcluith*, or *Alclud*,<sup>c</sup> of the  
aboriginal Britons, and the *Dumbrion* of their Scoto-Irish descendants, was unquestionably a Roman military station; and it would seem that a provincial town had existed under its protection during some period of the Roman government. The transports and war-galleys, which visited the Clyde from the coasts of England and from other quarters, came to anchor, it is believed, under the shadow of its bi-furcated rock, on whose western summit burned, we are told, a beacon light—a Roman Pharos—to direct the ancient mariner to the haven below.<sup>d</sup> This is the only station which existed beyond the wall on the western side of the Island. It is not mentioned by Ptolemy, but is to be found in the Chorography of Richard, under the name of *THEODOSIA*, and in the rank of a municipal town.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The province of *VESPASIANA* included all the country, from the Wall of Antoninus northward to what is now the line of the Caledonian Canal. This was merely a nominal possession with the Romans subsequent to the time of *Verus*. <sup>b</sup> Chalm. I. 183.

<sup>c</sup> Bede mentions it by this name—signifying *the rocky height on the Clyde*—Chalm. I. 238.

<sup>d</sup> Pennant's Second Tour.

<sup>e</sup> Richard, in his Map, places *Theodosia* at the efflux of the Leven from Lochlomond, near

As the benign policy of Antoninus Pius induced him to confer the rights of Roman citizenship on all the "barbarian nations" which accepted of his protection, and became obedient to his authority, it is almost certain that, during his reign, a considerable improvement took place in the condition of the conquered countries, and in the extension of those particular laws, which secured to the aborigines of western Europe something like a self-government in the management of their civil affairs. We learn that the cities or towns of Roman Britain ought properly to be divided into two distinct classes:—the *Coloniae*, which were principally inhabited by the Romans and their auxiliaries; and the *Municipia*, built and chiefly occupied by the natives. The former were the military head-quarters of districts where the Procurators, Quæstors, and Prætors resided, and within whose gates were deposited the annual tributes of money or corn paid by the neighbouring cultivators: they were governed entirely by Roman laws, and no Briton could become a proprietor within their prescribed limits: the latter, on the contrary, enjoyed the privilege of electing their own magistracy, or civil governors, independent of Roman interference.\* Such is the line of distinction which may be drawn between the two leading classes of our ancient provincial settlements; but, in addition to these, mention is occasionally made of what are called *Stipendiaria*, which are understood to have been native cities, governed by a Roman officer, and placed under Roman laws, while the Prætorship or chief direction of their municipal affairs remained under the control of the aboriginal inhabitants.<sup>b</sup> According to Richard, there were only three towns in North Britain which possessed the privileges of the municipal class; these were PROTON (Burghead), VICTORIA (near Comrie), and THEODOSIA (Dumbarton). Now, as the authorities from which the monk of Westminster derived his information must have been compiled, as formerly stated, before the Roman forces abandoned the country beyond the Forth, it follows that

the site of Balloch Castle—an evident mistake, according to general authority—and which can be easily accounted for by any one who examines the contour of his plan, and who believes him to have known that the Wall did not terminate at Theodosia, but at some miles' distance from it.

\* e. Sibbald, Hist. Inq. p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> e. Gough's Camd. III. 9—Whittaker's Manchester, I. 241—Richard, Chor. p. 36—*Tacit Agric.* c. 32—who mentions colonies and municipal towns in the "speech of Galgacus"—and Sibbald, Hist. Inq. p. 40.

his accounts refer, at the latest, to the age of Marcus Aurelius, and serve to describe the condition of the country as it existed towards the middle of the second century. It will perhaps strike the reader as a singular circumstance, that the only towns then honoured with the privileges of self-government should all have been situated to the north of the Wall, and on the very borders of the districts occupied by the independent Britons. This cannot well be accounted for otherwise than by supposing the legate of Antoninus to have so made use of the powers intrusted to him, in dispensing the Imperial favours, as to grant the rights of municipality to those places only in which he was most desirous of seeing a fixed population established, and to have held out the right of self-government as an inducement to the native inhabitants, for the purpose of influencing them to take up their quarters in the more exposed parts of the country; by which means he may have intended to forward the improvement of those outlying districts which he had exerted himself so much to bring under his authority, by the formation of good roads and the establishment of military stations.

But although the towns referred to were thus distinguished, it does not follow as a necessary consequence that the advantages of civic freedom led to any great increase in their size or importance. With respect to PROTORON and VICTORIA, it is probable that the Roman retreat was the cause of their being suddenly abandoned and soon after destroyed. As to Dumbarton—the first of the known *Municipia* it has been our fortune to reach—every trace of its existence, as a Roman-British town, has disappeared. We learn something, however, of its probable position, from certain remarks made by Dr. Irvine, who visited that part of Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago. He states that near the town of Dumbarton he saw the remains of one “great Roman Fort,” and the vestiges of another at the castle, half a mile distant from it. The Doctor seems to have been a most persevering inquirer, having travelled several times along the wall of Antoninus, in order to ascertain its course with that due precision to which he thought the subject was entitled; and we believe that no doubt has ever been cast on the general accuracy of his statements.<sup>a</sup> Tradition has long pointed to the foundations of a circular building, still to be seen near the principal flag-staff at Dumbarton Castle, as the remains of a Roman lighthouse or watch-tower;<sup>b</sup> but nothing beyond

<sup>a</sup> v. Sibbald, *Hist. Inq.* p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Gough's *Camd.* III. 352.

tradition can be referred to as evidence on the subject; *there*, however, are the firmly cemented stones, which have certainly formed a portion of some such structure, by whomsoever it was erected; and, if not Roman, its builders would seem to have, at all events, possessed not a little of Roman skill in preparing the particular mortar made use of in its construction. The situation of Dumbarton rock must have been at all times regarded as of great military importance; and certainly could not have been left unoccupied by the pro-prætor of Antonine—standing as it did so near the termination of his great rampart, and at a point where the contracting bed of the Clyde became a less efficient check on the incursions of the Northern Britons. The venerable Bede, who wrote within three hundred years of Valentinian's reign, takes notice of *Alclud* as having been a Roman station. He no doubt erred in supposing that it formed, as such, the last of the forts *per lineam valli*;<sup>a</sup> but his words distinctly imply that it was not neglected by the Roman commanders, while their forces occupied the *prætentura* between the rivers Forth and Clyde. Bede died in or about the year 734, while the descendants of the Romanised Britons—the Cumbrians of Strathclyde—were making their last stand for independence against the powerful assaults of the Scoto-Irish Celtæ, and were still maintaining their hold of Dumbarton rock, in defiance of every attempt to displace them. To all appearance the tide has flowed, at no very distant period, entirely round the castle. In several places farther down the river, the aspect of its banks affords proof that the land is there encroaching on the sea; and although the lapse of fifteen or sixteen centuries may tell with but trifling effect on the slow development of nature's organic changes, still it is probable enough that the state of the Clyde has been materially altered since the last of the Roman galleys dropped its anchor off the mouth of the Leven. The bed of that river is decidedly rising, if we may judge of the fact from the increasing height of the waters in Lochlomond, of which it forms the outlet: should the stream of the Leven, therefore, have flowed in a deeper and less confined channel, while the standards of the *Vexillarii* were planted by its side, and the tidal wave been then allowed an easier ingress than now, we may believe the Roman mariner to have found a very tolerable harbour, and one perhaps equally safe in all weathers, within a bowshot distance, on either hand, of the Roman fortress and the municipal town.

<sup>a</sup> See Account of Roman Wall, *ut seq.*

It was lately remarked that the station of Theodosia was, to all appearance, the only one established by the Romans in the west of Scotland to the north of the Clyde. The country of the modern Lennox, which lay beyond its waters, covered with interminable forest and capped by perpetual clouds, proved sufficient to arrest the march of the legions while in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, and to induce them, it may be presumed, to set up the altars of the unyielding *Terminus*,\* at no great distance from their seaport on the Leven.

We have now to return upon an eastern course—passing along the track of the Roman *Vallum*, by Duntocher and Kirkintilloch, until we reach an inconsiderable rising ground, within a mile and a half of Falkirk, called “Tamfour-hill;” near to which the great northern road issued of old from under cover of the wall, and led towards the rock of Stirling. From Tamfour we look round on a highly cultivated country, now covered with every appearance of agricultural wealth. To the right is the height of Bantaskin, with its ornamental wood. In front the modern village of Camelon—lying amid brown fields and patches of lively green. Immediately below, the Forth and Clyde Canal forms a junction with the Union branch, and widens into an extensive basin just beneath the eye. Nowhere, perhaps, along the whole track of the Roman wall, have the alterations on the surface of the land been so great as at this spot. This is principally owing to the formation of the two canals; for when General Roy examined the country about Tamfour some eighty years ago, it seemed to have at that time undergone but little change from what we may suppose to have been its condition when first cleared and partially cultivated. The changes of Time increase, however, with his years; and the century, so to say, that expires in

\* This divinity presided over territorial limits in general—but in particular over those of the Roman empire. His temple stood on the Tarpeian Rock, and he was represented without feet or arms, to signify that he never moved from his place. He was gifted with the repute of having been the only one of the *Dii Saevi* who refused to make way for the “father of gods and men,” when Tarquin the Proud was desirous of honouring the Tarpeian with the altars of Jove. Hence Ovid says of him (v. Lempr.)—

“*Restitit et magno cum Jove templa tenet.*”

In allusion to this deity, St. Austin states (De Civ. Dei IV. 29) that the “god *Terminus*, who gave not place to Jupiter himself, yielded to the will of Hadrian, to the rashness of Julian, and to the distress of Jovian.” In other words, that these Emperors had respectively contracted the limits of the Roman empire.

1844, has done more, we may believe, than any dozen of those which preceded it to alter the general appearance and condition of Scotland. Who shall speak to the operations of the next? It requires, indeed, a pretty wide stretch of the imagination to conjure up to view the ancient state of things in this quarter, when casting a downward glance on the busy precincts of the well-known "Lock Sixteen." But it is unnecessary to linger here: our way lies towards the site of Roman Camelon—the old seaport of the Carron—the "place of ships," to which the Nervian or Tungrian soldier came down from about Rough Castle and Falkirk, some seventeen centuries ago, to receive the produce brought thither from more fertile regions to replenish his garrison supplies.

CAMELON. } Passing through the modern village of Camelon, along the  
 } highway leading by Bonny Bridge to Kilsyth, we do not  
 proceed far till we reach the spot where the turnpike road to Stirling diverges to the right. Beyond this point, at the distance of one-third of a mile to the westward, we stand on the track of the Roman way, of which, however, no vestige here remains; and, looking in the direction of Larbert village, we have the farm of Carmuir, about five hundred yards off on the left, with the sloping banks of the low ground about the Carron bending away in a semicircular form upon the right; and, immediately in front, the well cultivated fields which cover the once busy streets of the Roman town.\* At the distance of half a mile in advance, the river Carron winds on its seaward course, traversing a level bottom, skirted on either side by alluvial banks—the water-worn boundaries of the more elevated plain on which stood the houses of the ancient city. This diminutive valley is of varying width, but may probably average about a thousand yards across. At Carron Iron works, situated one-and-a-half miles below Larbert bridge, these rising banks entirely disappear, and the stream enters the unbroken plain which surrounds Grangemouth.

The whole of this lower district had, in all likelihood, been covered by the sea, when the Roman forces occupied the wall of Antoninus. It is likewise extremely probable, that the entire plain between Inneravon and Grahamston was at the same period subjected to the influx of the tide, which may even have penetrated the deeper hollows of the Carron as far up as Dunipace.

Of the Roman seaport not a vestige remains, to indicate the position it held or to interfere with the straight course of the ploughed furrows which now

\* v. Map of Antoninus's Wall, Sec. IV.



occupy its place. It was otherwise when Gordon visited the spot in 1725. He declares that the ruins of the Roman town were then perfectly distinct, and that he could easily distinguish the position of its "houses and streets,"<sup>a</sup> as well as the line of the "noble military way leading through it."<sup>b</sup> Sir R. Sibbald corroborates these statements from earlier observations, and mentions likewise the existence of vaults underneath the buildings. The latter maintains that the Romans must have had a seaport here, founding his opinion on the peculiar appearance of the ground in the vicinity of the ruins, the vestiges of a harbour near them, and the fact of an ancient anchor having been dug up on the spot; and he suggests the likelihood of its having been a colonial settlement of considerable importance—the seat perhaps of the Commander-in-Chief who governed the province to the south of the Forth.<sup>c</sup> This is of course entirely conjectural, but it serves to show how striking the remains of the ancient Camelon must have been in his time, when he was induced to regard them as the wrecks of the provincial capital. Even at so recent a period as the middle of last century those ruins continued to exist. General Roy describes them as sufficiently distinct to show that the whole had consisted of two parts; "whereof," in his own words, "that towards the south seems to have been the original station, and that on the north a subsequent or additional work:" he evidently alludes, however, to the fortress or citadel only, as in his time no vestiges remained perhaps of the adjacent streets.<sup>d</sup> It is asserted that both inscriptions and medals of Roman origin have been disinterred on the site of the ancient Camelon. Of the former no particular account can be met with, and all traces of them seem to be lost; the latter were of silver, and belonged to the reigns of Vespasian and of Antoninus Pius.<sup>e</sup>

Antiquaries have generally agreed in believing Camelon to have been the *Caer-Guidi* of Bede. Gordon, while contemplating its ruined streets, brings forward Agricola, as he very frequently does, into the field, and sees before

<sup>a</sup> Itin. p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 23.

<sup>c</sup> *Histor. Inquir.* pp. 34 and 41. Buchanan the historian says that in his time Camelon resembled the ruins of a modern city, and that its ditches, walls, and streets were then apparent (*Hist. Scot. Lib. I.*) Pennant states that several beds of oyster shells have been turned up near Camelon.

<sup>d</sup> A reduced copy of his plan is given in our Map of the Roman Wall, Sec. IV.

<sup>e</sup> Itin. Sept. p. 23—and v. Nimmo, I. 12.

him the very spot where that commander exerted his good offices, in teaching the "*dispersi ac rudes*" to construct the *templa* and *fora* referred to by Tacitus; but he makes no attempt to enlighten his readers on any other point regarding its history. Hector Boëce fixed—strangely enough—on Camelon as being the ancient site of *Camulodunum*, the Roman colony in Essex which was sacked by the Britons under Boadicea. The learned Buchanan corrected his mistake, but without attempting to supply the want of a name to the old city of the Carron. Horsley supposed it to have been the ALAUNA—Roy, the STATIO AD VALLUM—of the ancient geographers.<sup>a</sup> This last conjecture seems by far the most likely to be correct, as the position of Camelon agrees very well with that given to his AD VALLUM in Richard's Itinerary; and, if we may be allowed to select one name more than another which may be said to have belonged to it, we should certainly agree in Roy's opinion. This appellation implies that the place which bore it stood near the Wall. Richard places AD VALLUM at the distance of twelve miles from ALAUNA, which is supposed to have been situated at Keir, near Stirling, and thirty miles from VICTORIA, presumed to have stood in the neighbourhood of Comrie.<sup>b</sup> Measured by the line of the Roman way to the mouth of the river Allan, and thence round by the fort at Ardoch, these numbers give, with tolerable accuracy, the respective distances from each to the station at Camelon, and lead to a strong presumption that its once prominent ruins did actually indicate the site of the station referred to. The last remains of Roman building were removed by the person who tenanted the farm of Carmuir,<sup>c</sup> some forty or fifty years ago. A few fragments of pottery were then brought to light; but nothing else, we believe, of any importance. It is very likely that many of the vaults referred to by Sibbald may still remain unopened, extending underground beneath the reach of the ploughshare, choked with accumulated rubbish, and filled with the noxious damp which have been shut up within them, since the days of Pictish rapine and the dispersion southward of the provincial Britons. Nor will those subterranean chambers—if such do really exist—be ever perhaps thrown open, until accident shall lead the builder to select his ground above

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camd.* III. 363—Horsley, 364—Roy, 126.

<sup>b</sup> *v.* Richard's *Chorog.* Iters IX. and X.

<sup>c</sup> There are several places of the name in this neighbourhood: the one referred to is the nearest to the Carron, and no doubt derives its designation from the British word *Caer*, "a fort."

them, or until the formation of some northern railway assembles its labourers upon the spot.

Before leaving the banks of the Carron we must call the reader's attention to that singular specimen of Roman architecture which once stood by its waters, near the place now occupied by the Carron Ironworks,\* and which was familiarly known by the name of "Arthur's Oon:" we have no account of any similar remain having ever existed in North Britain, and as it occupied a position so near to that of the ancient Camelon, it may not improperly be taken notice of here. This building was of a circular form, its shape in some measure resembling that of a common bee-hive. It measured at the base from twenty-nine to thirty yards in circumference, and continued of the same dimensions to the height of eight feet, from which point it converged gradually inwards in its ascent, till, at an elevation of twenty-two feet, the walls terminated in a circle, leaving in the top of the dome a round opening twelve feet in diameter. On its western side was an arched doorway, nine feet in extreme height, and above it an aperture resembling a window, of a slightly triangular form, three feet in height, and averaging nearly the same in width. The whole was formed of hewn freestone, laid in regular horizontal courses, the first of them resting upon a thick massive basement of the same material, which, to follow out the simile, represented with curious fidelity the common circular board on which the cottage hive is usually placed. The interior of the structure corresponded with its general appearance from without; the only difference being in the concavity of the shape and in its having two projecting stone cornices round its interior surface, the one at a height of four and the other of six feet from the ground. The style of the workmanship was singularly perfect, and showed an intimate acquaintance with masonic art. No cement of any description had been made use of in its construction, yet the stones were so accurately joined together, that even the difficult process of forming so diminutive a cupola by the concentration of horizontal courses, was accomplished there in the most skilful and enduring manner. As no written description can give a sufficient idea of the building, we must refer the reader

\* It stood upon a slight rising ground, sloping to the S. or S. by E. about 300 feet to the north of the point which is now the N.W. corner of these works—See Stat. Account, Larbert Parish.

to PLATE V. FIG. 1, in order that he may have a correct idea of what was its appearance.

From the days of Nennius<sup>a</sup> down to those of Horsley, "Arthur's Oon" seems to have commanded the attention of almost all who laid any claim to the merits of antiquarian research. It was examined, measured, and re-measured, again and again, even to its minutest details, with a care and devotion carried, many would say, somewhat to excess, curious as the subject really was. The name of its builder, the cause of its erection, and the purpose for which it had been intended, have each, in turn, given scope to a good deal of learned disquisition, without effectually clearing away the mystery which hangs over the history of that singular structure.<sup>b</sup>

Nennius is the earliest author who takes notice of it: he gives a brief description of the building, and asserts, without hesitation, that it was erected by the usurper Carausius, who assumed the purple in Britain in the year 284. He likewise mentions that a triumphal arch was built near it, in honour of the same individual, and that his imperial name had descended to posterity—retained, in some degree, in that of the "Carron."<sup>c</sup> Johannes Major, another member of the Church, tells us that it was known in his time by the name of "Julius's Hoff."<sup>d</sup> Hector Boëce ascribes the structure to Vespasian, seriously observing that he placed it there in honour of his predecessor Claudius; and that the ashes of a certain Aulus Plautius, who died at Camelon, which he calls *Camulodunum*, were afterwards buried within it.<sup>e</sup> All those statements may be regarded as mere fables: Nennius is the only one whose account makes the slightest approach even to probability. It is well known that

<sup>a</sup> He is supposed to have flourished in the 7th century, and to have been Abbot of Bangor about the year 620. Bishop Nicholson, however, assigns him a later era by 200 years.

<sup>b</sup> The name "Arthur's Oon" has generally been looked upon as a vulgar corruption of "Arthur's Oven." Possibly enough, however, the word *Oon* may be no other than the Pictish term for a house or dwelling, as we find that the words *Pict-Oon* denoted the Picts' dwelling place or settlement—*v.* Governor Pownall's *Provincia Romana* of Gaul, p. 36. The prefix "Arthur" may probably be a corruption of some Celtic word. In a communication with which we have been favoured, through the medium of a friend, from the learned author of the "Gael and Cimbrii," Sir William Betham, it is suggested that the name "Arthur's Oon" is probably derived from the old Gaelic words *Art*, a house, and *Oon*, solitary—meaning a retired dwelling or hermitage.

<sup>c</sup> *Historia Britonum*, c. XIX.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Scot. Lib. I. Major's work was first published in 1521.

<sup>e</sup> *Sectorum Historiæ*, Lib. III. c. IV. Boëce was born in 1465.

neither Julius Cæsar nor Vespasian ever visited Scotland; and it is ridiculous to suppose them to have had any connection with the construction of Arthur's Oon. Passing over, however, the speculative theories of Hector Boëce, we gather from his writings some few particulars regarding the building, which are not altogether unworthy of notice. He says, for instance, that the figure of a Roman eagle had at one time been visible, chiselled upon the pavement, and that a huge stone altar stood in the interior, on which the "Gentiles were wont to offer sacrifice;" while, in a subsequent portion of his history, he leads us to infer that many other insignia of the Romans formerly ornamented its walls: for he states that when, for some reason unexplained, King Edward the First had made special war on our Scottish antiquities, he was only induced to spare the "temple beside Camelon," after the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had already destroyed all the Roman sculptures and inscriptions which existed upon it.<sup>a</sup> A gentleman named Sinclair, who visited the place in 1569, observed the traces of a row of letters above the doorway; while Sir R. Sibbald says, that when he "narrowly viewed the walls with a lighted link," he plainly saw on their interior surface the representation of an eagle's head, and the more indistinct traces of what he conceived to be a figure of Victory, with the head and part of the handle of a javeline at her side, and the following letters immediately under—I.A.M.P.M.P.T.; which he honestly declares were to him perfectly unintelligible.<sup>b</sup> Combining those several accounts together, it seems very probable that the stones of Arthur's Oon—latterly so barren of the slightest index to its history—were studded of old with many a warlike device or graven line, calculated to preserve in remembrance the object of its erection. But all these were gone, or so far obliterated as to be unintelligible, before the spirit of inquiry became directed towards them; and the antiquarian world has, in consequence, been greatly divided in opinion as to the particular purpose which the building was intended to serve—although no one appears to have had any hesitation in deducing its origin from the era of the Roman occupation.

There is much probability that Arthur's Oon had been designed for a *Sacellum* or minor temple of some kind or other. Its peculiar form and appearance, the manner in which it was constructed, the votive altar, and

<sup>a</sup> Lib. XIV. c. VII.

<sup>b</sup> *Histor. Inq.* p. 44. He likewise observed within, a carving of the cross of St. George—supposed to have been executed in Edward's time—*Hist. Stirl.* p. 51.

circular opening at the top, might be supposed sufficient to denote as much.<sup>a</sup> The chief difficulty experienced, by those who gave their attention to the subject, was to decide, with something like certainty, on the object of its erection, or on the particular deity to whose service it was dedicated. George Buchanan entertained the opinion that it had been consecrated to the god Terminus, as standing on the limits of the Roman province. Dr. Stukely thought that it might possibly have been dedicated to Romulus, the parent deity of Rome, and that it was a work of Agricola. Sibbald contended for the honour of *Cælus*, the son of *Terra*, and ascribed its origin to the piety of Severus. Gordon, with somewhat opposite views, attacks the opinion which gave it a purely devotional character—conceiving the little Temple of the Carron to have been principally made use of as a depositary for the safe keeping of the legionary standards. Some have regarded it as a trophy of victory, or a memorial of peace; others as a sepulchral monument raised to the memory of some officer of rank. Every variety of conjecture which could be advanced as at all applicable to the subject, seems to have been formed on the subject of this antique remain. We must, however, leave those speculations, to find with the reader what favour they may, satisfied that the actual history of Arthur's Oon remains involved in too deep an obscurity to be in the slightest degree cleared up by any opinions which we might venture to hazard upon the question.<sup>b</sup>

Were the building still in existence, we should perhaps be forgiven for dwelling a little more minutely on the subject; if only for the sake of the passing traveller, who might, in such a case, have been tempted to turn from his way, with the object of beholding the last prominent object of Roman architecture which Scotland contained; but the ancient *Sacellum*, which had stood for fifteen centuries by the "dark winding Carron," facing unshaken the rude buffets of time—spared alike by Pict and Scot, by Saxon, Norman, and Dane;—which, if what is writ be true, had beheld the passing legions of Severus, the gathering of Ossian's heroes, the adventurous march of Wallace, the flight of Bannockburn;—this venerable monument of departed ages, fell

<sup>a</sup> See the Architectural Work of Vitruvius and the notes of his commentator, Philander, for a particular description of the various classes of Roman Temples.

<sup>b</sup> Buchanan, *Hist. of Scotland*, Lib. I V.—Gough's *Camd.* III. 356—Stukeley's *Treatise on Arthur's Oon*—Gord. *Itin.* p. 28, &c.—Sibbald, *Hist. Inq.* p. 46—Horsley, p. 174.

in the year 1748 before the perhaps pardonable vandalism of a Scottish proprietor, whose tastes, centred round a comparatively narrow point, could neither appreciate an interest in the past, nor make any allowance for what he regarded as the foibles of others. In his eyes, the walls of the Roman chapel were vested with no peculiar interest; and, at a time when such materials happened to be wanted, he caused the building to be pulled down, and its stones to be made use of for the construction of a river dam. This, we are told, was afterwards swept away by the current, so that, in all probability, the last remains of Arthur's Oon lie at the present day buried amid the muddy shallows of the Carron.<sup>a</sup>

Various remains of antiquity have been discovered near its site, such as the stones of Querns or hand-mills, made of a species of lava resembling that now obtained from the mill-stone quarries of Andernach on the Rhine; fragments of pottery, and the vestiges of what was supposed to have been a potter's kiln.<sup>b</sup> Sibbald refers to the horns of "great cows," and to a *patera* dug up beside this Roman *Sacellum*, as some proof of its having been a place of sacrifice; he likewise states that the traces of a broad ditch could, in his day, be seen on its northern side; which makes it sufficiently probable that a regular *vallum* and fosse had once surrounded the building.<sup>c</sup> As before said, however, nothing remains connected with Arthur's Oon but the memory of its existence and the green bank sloping where it stood.

KIERFIELD. } Although some authors have fixed the Roman station of  
 } ALAUNA at Stirling;<sup>d</sup> the great majority of our most eminent  
 antiquaries have removed it somewhat farther distant from the banks of Carron, placing it at Keirfield, between the rivers Allan and Teith, about a mile above the spot where the former joins the Forth. From the affinity in name which seems to exist between the ALAUNA of Richard's Itinerary, and the stream by whose waters it is supposed to have stood—and from the circumstance of Kierfield being situated at nearly the same distance from the Wall of Antoninus—it certainly appears more consonant with probability to fix the position of ALAUNA on the rising ground near the mouth of the Allan than at Stirling, be it on the rock above or on the plain below it.<sup>e</sup> At

<sup>a</sup> Gough's Camd. III. 363—and N. Stat. Acc. Larbert P.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Inq. p. 45—and Nimmo's Hist. of Stirl. p. 51.

<sup>d</sup> v. Sibbald, Horsley, Gibson. <sup>e</sup> Roy, Chalmers, &c.

Keirfield, it is true, no remains of any importance have ever been brought to light; but in this respect Stirling may be said to be equally barren: for although we find mention made of a Roman camp having existed to the westward of the castle, previous to the grounds in that quarter being laid out as Royal gardens, this by no means proves that a permanent station had been established there. But we have, in fact, little to say either of Stirling or Keirfield as Roman stations, and only allude to them for the purpose of pointing to the presumed locality of the ancient ALAUNA. Sibbald conjectures Stirling to have been a Roman port; and Chalmers informs us that many British hill-forts were to be seen in the vicinity of Keir, which might partially account for the erection of a strong Roman fortress in the neighbourhood.<sup>a</sup> Its chief importance would result, however, from its situation being near the passage of the Forth, on the great road from Camelon to the north-east: and perhaps in the reign of Antoninus Pius a detached post was placed at Stirling in connection with the colony on the Allan, in order to give their Roman occupants a complete control over the fords of the river upon either hand.<sup>b</sup>

ARDOCH. } When, as mentioned in our historical sketch, the forces of  
 } Agricola had defiled, by the passes of the Ochil Hills, towards  
 the position now occupied by the village of Blackford, and had thence moved forward to Orchil Moor, part of the only plain which then intervened between them and the wild retreats of the Caledonian Britons, it may possibly have occurred to their leader, that he was now encamped on a spot remarkably well adapted for the establishment of a reserve station, either as regarded the maintenance of his communication with the passages of the Forth, or the protection of his return route into the districts of Fife: while his prudential foresight might lead him to regard it as a most convenient point, with regard to his garrisons elsewhere; as towards it he could direct the advance of supplies, in the event of his remaining for any length of time in the valley of the Earn, or finding it necessary to march into the country beyond the Tay.

There can be no reasonable doubt but that Agricola did cross the upper waters of the Allan, and that he probably encamped his forces on the banks of the Knaik—commencing there the construction of those well-preserved military works, which mark the progress of the Roman arms towards the

<sup>a</sup> Sibb. Hist. Inq. p. 35—Chalm. I. p. 144—Roy, 126.

<sup>b</sup> v. "Military Ways."



north, and confer so great an interest on many of the localities about Comrie and Ardoch. We say commencing the construction of those works, because we cannot divest the scene of all connection with his name, and yet—assuming that the halt of Agricola at Ardoch was the cause of assembling the Caledonian army in his front, and that the conflict with Galgacus occurred in the neighbourhood—we cannot conceive him to have been the sole architect of the various military works whose traces linger in that quarter; for it may naturally be doubted whether he had time to effect any very permanent settlement previous to the defeat of the Britons, and before his subsequent change of plans occasioned the retreat of his forces to the southward of the Forth. It is probable, however, that the woods, marshes, and heath-covered knolls about Ardoch had been traversed a year or two before by the footsteps of the Roman legions. The imposing defences of the central station, the low ramparts of the out-lying camp, the advanced posts surmounting the heights around, and the hastily constructed roads which crossed the swampy hollows, or penetrated the thickets between the several points of occupation—were all perhaps the indications of a settlement—begun only to be abandoned when the order of retreat was passed among the troops, while yet reposing under the verdant laurels of their recent victory. But among all the remains of antiquity which, for the last two hundred years, have bestowed no little celebrity on the neighbourhood of Ardoch, which of them can be said to belong to the era of Agricola? or how shall we pretend to distinguish the handiworks of his ardent Batavians, of his rapid Tungrii, of his stately and *reserved* Romans, from those of more recent and longer abiding conquerors? Lollius Urbicus was the next officer who led a Roman army beyond the Forth; and as he evidently pushed forward with the determination of striking a decisive blow at the independence of the Caledonian tribes, he was no doubt particularly cautious to secure the country in his rear, as he gradually advanced upon the Tay, and the unknown regions which lay beyond it upon the unexplored shores of the German Ocean. Moving from about Camelon, his first halt may probably have been near Stirling, or on the site of the future ALAUNA, and his second at Ardoch. On reaching the latter position, we may suppose this leader to have found himself upon the very site of Agricola's head-quarters; the lines of his encampment still remaining, and but little injured, though covered with the vegetation of more than fifty

summers; the roads he had formed perhaps still in existence, and easily to be traced amid the matted foliage; while even the ashes of his camp-fires might possibly have been observed still blackening the ground. Finding the situation a good one, it is probable that Urbicus left a detachment of his forces on the spot, and that he re-constructed the field-works of Agricola—placing the principal fort in an efficient state of defence—restoring the various outposts around it—opening up the obstructed lines of communication between them—and then moving forward, with the intention of completing his improvements when he had accomplished the expected subjugation of the Northern Britons.

It was certainly during the latter years of his command that the country beyond the Forth experienced to its greatest extent the introduction of Roman improvement. Protected alike by the presence of his well-disciplined troops, and by the retirement of the over-awed Caledonians into the distant recesses of their mountain wilds, many of the northern districts enjoyed perhaps an equal share of amelioration with the more favoured regions which lay within the boundary of the Wall; and to that period we must, no doubt, ascribe the formation of those military works and other remains of antiquity which have made the name of Ardoch so generally known.<sup>a</sup>

Proceeding from the site of the ancient ALAUNA on a visit to that spot, we advance by the high road from Stirling to Crieff, which leads in several places over the track of the Roman Military Way, passing in succession the bridge of Allan and the town of Dunblane, and skirting the wide expanse of the Sheriffmuir, until we reach a way-side farm-house called Greenloaning;<sup>b</sup> from which point, keeping the road to the left, we descend upon the little village at Ardoch, distant from the banks of the Forth some ten or twelve miles. Once arrived there, the antiquarian tourist may for a time lay down his pilgrim staff, and hang his wallet on the walls, as the objects of his curiosity are at hand.

Many have probably been hurried past the little village at Ardoch,<sup>c</sup> without being aware that the plantations behind him contained the most perfect remains of a Roman military station of which this island can boast;

<sup>a</sup> v. Mr. Chalmers' remarks, Caled. V. I. c. IV.

<sup>b</sup> Formerly called *Græmeloning*, i.e. according to Gough, "Graham's Lane"—Camd. III. 382.

<sup>c</sup> "Ardoch" is not the name of the village near the Roman camp: it is called "Braco."

or that his "flying wheels" were rattling, at the moment, over the prætorian quarters of a legionary camp. The remains of the principal fort are so much concealed from view, and the ramparts of the larger inclosures are in general so levelled with the surface, that the attention of the casual passenger has no great chance of being directed towards them.

The antiquities of the immediate neighbourhood comprehend the remains of four separate specimens of Roman castrametation. We have, in the first place, the Station or Citadel; then the *Procestrium* or subsidiary inclosure, intended, it may be supposed, for the accommodation of reinforcements; and finally the traces of two Camps, such as were constructed by an army on the march. These last had occupied the irregular ground to the northward; but unluckily, with the exception of the rampart of the station itself, most of the works have disappeared before the progress of cultivation, and nothing now remains but a few scattered fragments of the original whole.

In PLATE V. FIG. 5, the reader will find a plan of the camps at Ardoch, designed in a restored form, on the basis of a survey executed by General Roy in the year 1755; when, as may be supposed, the intrenchments were all in a much more perfect state than they now are. The citadel or station occupies, it will be observed, the corner to the right of the plan. Fortunately it has suffered but little when compared with any other work of the kind existing in Scotland; and, thanks to the protection now afforded them, its time-hallowed ramparts may probably long continue, without being exposed to any farther injury. It stands beside the little river Knaik, on a kind of *plateau*, which rises some fifty feet above the stream. The area of the station had originally measured somewhere about 500 by 420 feet; and seems to have been on all sides protected by a series of six walls and five ditches. At present, however, we can trace nearly the entire number only on the east and north: the encroachments of the Knaik, and the formation of the highway to Crieff, with other circumstances, have combined to level the opposite sides to such a degree that only a trifling portion of the old defences can now be seen there; still, so large a proportion remains intact, that the visitor, standing on the interior *vallum*, will find no difficulty in following the general plan of the ramparts, as they extend before him in various lines of grass-covered mounds alternating with intervening hollows. Near the middle of the area the eye rests on the site of the *Prætorium*. This appears to have been an

inclosed space, from sixty to seventy feet square. It occupies an irregular position, being neither placed in the centre of the station, nor in a parallel direction with the adjacent walls, but lying in a transverse angle to the plane of the larger area, within a hundred and forty feet of its western side. Nearly opposite to what was the north-east corner of this interior work, the line of approach to the *Prætorian* gate may be observed, intersecting the ramparts in an oblique direction. Of the *Decuman* entrance, situated on the south side of the station, no traces remain; but the position of the others may still be distinguished, facing, in opposite directions, to the east and west of the *Prætorian* quarters. The eastern entrance is, of the two, in the best state of preservation: it measures about twenty feet in width, and leads outward through the entrenchments toward the point where it had once joined the Roman causeway which led from Camelon to the Tay.

There is something singular in the arrangement or form of the ramparts at Ardoch station: they did not compose a series of *valla*, rising in regular successive courses round the larger internal wall, as we find was generally the case elsewhere; but they appear to have been in some places arranged in a very unusual manner. We of course know extremely little of what may have been the original form of the works on the two sides adjoining the Knaik: it is towards the east and north that we distinguish what seems to be the general plan of the whole, and observe the particular arrangement mentioned. Diverging from the passage fronting what was the eastern gate, the earthen ramparts may be traced leading round the north-east corner of the station towards the *Prætorian* or northern entrance, and continuing thence in the direction of the Crieff road, at first in regular parallels, and then with several diverging turns; and these again are stopped by the courses and angles of other dykes which meet them in the N.W. corner of the works. As it is impossible, however, to give an accurate idea of their appearance without the aid of the pencil, we have introduced (in PLATE V. *Fig. 2.*) a ground plan of the station, as it existed nearly a century ago, which may be found of service in explaining its general appearance.

Among the details here represented, we may direct attention to the manner in which the eastern entrance is protected by the curve and prolongation of the external ditch with the adjoining rampart—to the singular termination of the two *valla* in the N.W. corner—and to the inclosed space in front of the

*Prætorian gate.* This last measured nearly 430 feet long, by about 50 in breadth at its two extremities. It probably served as an inclosure into which the horses or cattle of the garrison were driven for safety, either at night or on the appearance of any danger.

Besides the barracks necessary for the accommodation of the garrison, the following buildings were generally to be found within the interior ramparts of the Roman permanent camps—namely, a small *Sacellum* or Temple, which stood near the *Prætorium*—an hospital—a workshop for the armourers—a magazine for corn—and a repository for arms. Beyond the walls were placed the stables, slaughter-houses, and other subsidiary buildings.<sup>a</sup> Now, as the locality of Ardoch happened, in the best of times, to be rather an exposed one, nothing is more probable than that the founders of the station, having no desire to risk the loss of their horses or cattle, had so contrived the position of their ramparts as to inclose a walled space for their safe-keeping, without encroaching on the regular plan of the encampment within, or being obliged to expose them to the insecurity of a detached outwork: hence perhaps the object of the space referred to above.

Judging by the situation of the four gates, and by the site of the *Prætorium*, although the latter did not exactly occupy the usual position, we may believe the internal arrangements of this station to have been laid out on much the same principle as were those of what is called the Polybian camp. On the Polybian system of locating an army, the station at Ardoch would afford accommodation to a body of about twelve hundred men; but on the crowded method described by Hyginus, it would have contained more than double that number.<sup>b</sup> The site of the *Prætorium*, familiarly known by the name of Chapel-hill, rises to a slight degree above the general level of the area of the station: this may account for the unusual position which the commander's quarters had occupied at Ardoch. The *Prætorium* has been evidently inclosed by a stone wall, within which, on the northern side of the square, remain the vestiges of stone foundations; and there is every reason to believe that the ground is, at this moment, vaulted below.<sup>c</sup> Tradition reports indeed—and she has not a few believers—that there exists a subterranean passage between the *Prætorium* of Ardoch and the Hill of Keir, situated at

<sup>a</sup> Whittaker, I. 41, 44, 47.

<sup>b</sup> v. "Temporary Camps."

<sup>c</sup> v. Sibb. Hist. Inq. p. 37.

the distance of half-a-mile to the south-west, and on the opposite side of the Knaik water. Vast treasures were said to be concealed within its secret holds; in allusion to which Gordon quotes the following doggrel verses, which had been there handed down, he says, from father to son, time out of mind:—

“From the camp at Ardoch  
To the grinnin hill of Keir,  
Are nine Kings’ rents  
For seven hundred year.”<sup>a</sup>

A tempting income none will deny; but unfortunately these hoards continue to be locked up, under the witchery, it seems, of some unearthly spell.

We have no intention, however, to contend for the truth of all this; but if the following statement be correct, which we give in the words of Mr. Scott, formerly minister of the parish of Muthil, and which there seems no reason to question, some singular discoveries may still possibly be made within the green ramparts of the station at Ardoch. The Reverend statist, having alluded to the probability of there being a passage under the Knaik, observes, that “There was a hole near the side of the *prætorium*, that went in a sloping direction for many fathoms; in which, it was generally believed, treasures, as well as Roman antiquities, might be found. In order to ascertain this fact, a man, who had been condemned by the baron court of a neighbouring lord, upon obtaining pardon, agreed to be let down by a rope into this hole. He at first brought up with him, from a great depth, Roman spears, helmets, fragments of bridles, and several other articles; but, upon being let down a second time, was killed by foul air. No attempts have been made since that time. The articles above-mentioned lay at the house of Ardoch for many years; but were all carried off by some soldiers in the Duke of Argyll’s army, in 1715, after the battle of Sheriffmuir, and could never afterwards be recovered. The mouth of the hole was covered up with a millstone, by an old gentleman, who lived at the house of Ardoch, while the family were in Russia, about the year 1720, to prevent the hares from running into it when pursued by his dogs; and as earth to a considerable depth was laid over the millstone, the place cannot now be found, although diligent search has been made for it.”<sup>b</sup> He subsequently mentions that, when the family returned to the country, the camp was used as a pasture

<sup>a</sup> Itin. Sept. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acc. VIII. 494.

ground for cattle, and that it was inclosed, during the latter part of last century, with a stone wall, that it might never again suffer from a ploughshare. The care of the remains of the station, so worthily commenced by Sir William Stirling, has been effectually continued by his descendants. There seems therefore little to fear for their future preservation: and it is to be hoped that some feeling of curiosity may one day induce the proprietor to lay open the hidden chambers of the *Prætorian* mound.

Many Roman coins have been found in the vicinity of the station;\* likewise some stone coffins, containing human skeletons of a very large size, and several sepulchral urns, partly filled with ashes, one of which was dug up near the west side of the *Prætorium*. But the object of the highest interest discovered at Ardoch is a monumental tablet, erected to the memory of a veteran officer, who probably died and was buried at this station. It was found within the ramparts, and bears the following inscription:—

DIS MANIBVS  
AMMONIVS DA  
MIONIS , COH  
I HISPANORVM  
STIPENDIORVM  
XXVII HER EDES  
F C

DIS MANIBUS  
AMMONIUS DAMIONIS,  
CENTURIO COHORTIS PRIMÆ  
HISPANORUM  
STIPENDIORUM  
XXVII, HEREDES  
FIERI CURARUNT

*“To the shade of Ammonius Damion,<sup>b</sup> Centurion of the First Cohort of the Spanish Stipendiaries, who served for 27 years, his heirs have erected this monument.”*

This stone was discovered at least 140 years ago. It was presented by a Mr. Stirling of Ardoch to the Earl of Perth, whose grandson, in the year 1744, transferred it to the College of Glasgow, where it is now preserved.—See PLATE V. FIG. 5.

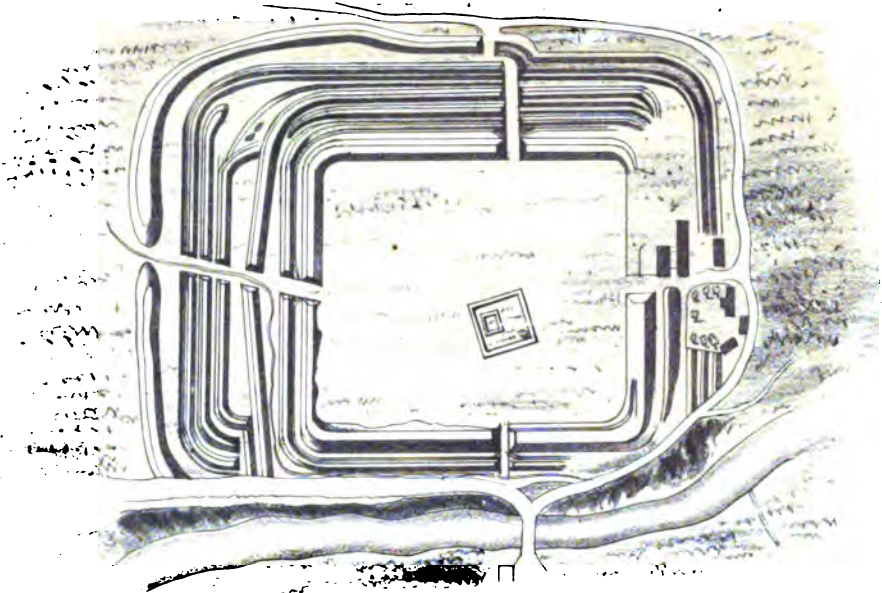
Three altars were discovered in the north of England, all erected, as their inscriptions denote, by this First Cohort of auxiliary Spaniards.<sup>c</sup> From the manifest difference of style which characterises them from each other, it seems

\* Gordon states that there was in his time a tumulus of earth and stones beside the bridge on the side of the Knaik opposite to the station, in which medals and urns were discovered—Itin. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> Some think that this inscription may signify—“*To the shade of Ammonius, the son or servant of Damion*”—*v.* Hors. 205.

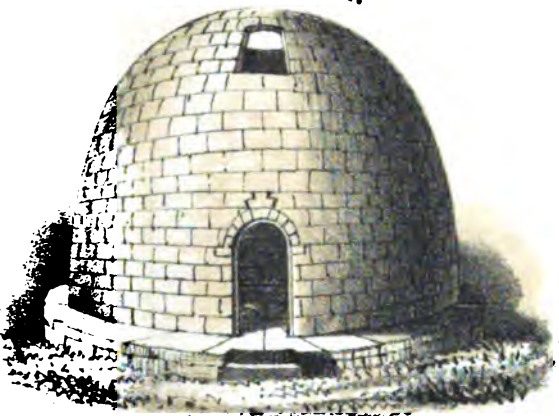
<sup>c</sup> *v.* Hors. 280—and Gordon's Itin. Append.

2.

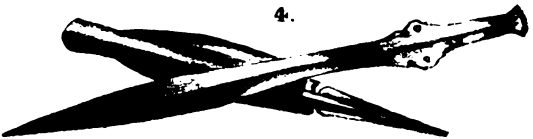


ROMAN STATION AT ARDOCH, AS IT APPEARED IN 1766.

1.  
ARTHUR'S COON.



4.



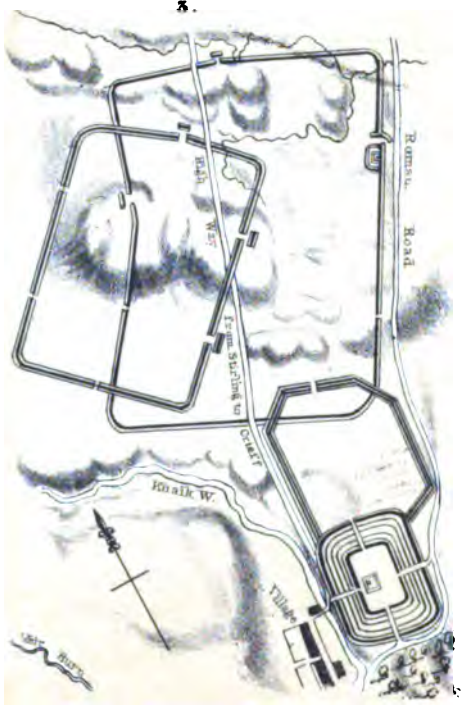
BRONZE WEAPONS.

5.



INSCRIPTION FOUND AT ARDOCH.

3.



CAMPS AT ARDOCH, PARTIALLY RESTORED.





almost certain that they had been executed at different periods. One has been ascribed to the era of Antonine or of Aurelius, another to that of Dioclesian. It is difficult, however, to form any decided opinion on the subject: but as these altars appear to have nothing in common with the very rude productions known to belong to the later times of the Roman dominion, and as we find the same *Hispanii* mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii* as being stationed on the Wall of Severus at a very late period, and when the Roman forces had seemingly abandoned the whole of North Britain,<sup>a</sup> we may suppose that corps to have been quartered in this Island for not less perhaps than a couple of centuries.

Next to the fort at Ardoch comes the *Procestrium*. Its outline may be seen upon the plan immediately adjoining to the northern ramparts of the station. Unfortunately the greatest part of its defences had been laid low before the shield of protection was thrown over those remains, so that scarcely a vestige of this outwork can now be perceived. We learn, however, from former accounts, that it had been strongly entrenched, and that its walls inclosed an area capable of containing about four thousand men. Of the two camps, to the north of this addition, the one is of the usual oblong shape, and measured 2800 by 1950 feet: the other resembled it in form, but was much smaller in size. The former would, on the Polybian system, accommodate an army of 26,000 men; the latter, one of about half the number.<sup>b</sup>

When General Roy visited the remains of these camps in 1755, the appearance which they presented was rather singular—not so much on account of the manner in which the ramparts of the one intersected those of the other, as that all those ramparts should have been allowed to stand in the awkward position which some of them occupied. He conjectured that the largest camp had been the first constructed, and that the smaller one, as well as the *Procestrium*, were formed at a later period; but, at the same time, he acknowledges himself at a loss to understand how it happened, that the forces which entrenched themselves within the smaller inclosure, should have permitted the *vallum* and ditch of the interior work to remain unlevelled

<sup>a</sup> The station given is that of *Asclodunum*, believed to have been situated at Brugh—Hors. 478.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, 63. For some account of the method of Castrametation practised by the Romans, see Sec. III.—“Temporary Camps.”

along the very centre of their own position: his only conjecture is, that the troops engaged in its formation must have been suddenly ordered to march before they had time to complete the undertaking.<sup>a</sup> Supposing the large camp to have been the most recent of the two, the same difficulty occurs, as the walls of the former encroached upon it in a manner equally inconvenient: there can be no question, however, but that the great camp was the most ancient of all, judging from the circumstance that one of its angles had evidently been demolished to make way for the ramparts of the *Procestrium* of the station.

This larger camp did not form, as will be observed, a regular parallelogram, its northern *vallum* having a somewhat curved appearance, and that on the western side being carried inwards near the centre, in order to traverse the rising ground in that direction. All its gates, so far as is known, were covered by straight traverses, with the exception of that to the north-east. The line of rampart was there broken by a sharp semicircular curve, and the place of entrance was guarded by a square redoubt. Various portions of those ancient works may still be seen, although in much disjointed order. The highway to Crieff passes directly through the larger camp. It enters across the partly remaining traverse of a southern entrance, cuts off one corner of the small encampment in its course, and leaves the area of the first 130 feet to the westward of the opposite gateway.<sup>b</sup>

The Grinnin Hill of Keir, referred to a few pages back, seems to have been occupied by the Romans as an outpost, from which an advanced party might command the vista of Strathallan. It rises beside Keir-burn, half a mile to the south-west of Ardoch station, and commands a tolerable view of the country around. From the terraced appearance of its sides, and the circular form of the ramparts which inclosed the summit, it is probable that this rising ground was a place of some note among the aboriginal Britons, either in a religious or warlike point of view, long before the Roman clarions had disturbed the silence of the surrounding woods.<sup>c</sup> The remains of another outpost, connected with the garrison at Ardoch, may be observed on a rising ground upwards of two miles to the north of the station. It is known by

<sup>a</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 63.

<sup>b</sup> See the Plan, PLATE V. FIG. 3; also Sibbald's Hist. Inq.—Gordon, Itin.—Roy, Milit. Antiq.—and N. Stat. Acc. Muthil P. *passim*.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, 127—Gord. 42.

the name of Kemps, or Camps Castle, and has been a small fort, measuring 76 feet by 64—its inclosure fenced by a double rampart and ditch. The Roman causeway passed close to it, rendered, no doubt, so much the more safe by the proximity of its protecting walls. A similar *castellum* existed near the house of Orchill, not quite a mile distant from Kemps Castle, on the south-east.<sup>a</sup>

Chalmers directs our attention to this neighbourhood as “the celebrated scene of many Roman operations, from the great epoch of the Caledonian conflict with Agricola till the final abdication of the Roman power.”<sup>b</sup> We presume that he intended, but forgot to add, “beyond the Forth;” for, unless it became so in a transient degree during the inroad of Severus, we cannot suppose that the country about Ardoch was the scene of any Roman operations whatever after the latter decades of the second century. There can, however, be no question but that at some antecedent period the stir of martial life had been in busy action there. Across the moor of Orchill passed the great military Way, which connected the colonies of the South with the Roman stations beyond the limits of the wall. The march, the encampment, the battle array, of the legionary cohorts, had all perhaps been witnessed on its track, within a narrow circuit around the walls of Ardoch. Along that line of road moved forward the first currents of civilised life which found their way into the north of Scotland; the agents of their advance being assured of protection, as they approached the mountain districts, by the sight of the various divisional colours, and other ensigns, which rose above the wood, the marsh, or moorland heath, at Ardoch, Keir Hill, Kemps Castle, Orchill, and the more distant fortresses, about to be noticed, of Strageath and Dalgin Ross. Besides those referred to, there had been several other minor forts established along the military way, which traversed the country between the rivers Allan and Earn; while, about a century ago, the remains of an immense fosse or ditch<sup>c</sup> might be seen extending for the length of two miles between the Roman road and the stream of the Knaik, and passing at a short distance northward of the great camp already mentioned.<sup>d</sup>

We have elsewhere alluded to the vicinity of Ardoch, as the probable scene of that well-known conflict in which the Caledonian leader Galgacus figured

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 127, and Pl. 31—Sinc. Stat. Acc. VIII. 496.

<sup>b</sup> Caled. I. 170.

<sup>c</sup> e. Hist. Trans. *ante*, p. 75.

<sup>d</sup> Gordon, p. 42—Pennant's *See. Tour*, p. 100.

as the opponent of Agricola.\* It is not our intention to maintain anything like a dogmatical opinion on the subject; but we may be permitted to observe, that while fully disposed to appreciate the ingenious reasoning which has been from time to time advanced to fix the scene of the battle in other places upon our Highland frontier, we are still inclined, from what has been formerly said, to give a preference, in this respect, to the heath-covered rising grounds of Muthill Parish.

There may possibly be some of the remains of antiquity around Ardoch which date their origin from the earliest period of the Roman invasion; such perhaps as the entrenchments of the larger camp, the inner *valla* of the station, and the outlying forts at Orchill and Kemps Castle; but the most important among them may certainly be regarded as belonging to a later period. The amount of labour which was required to complete the defences of such a fortress as that at Ardoch, could not, in all probability, have been expended on it during the brief summer campaign of Agricola; when the object of permanent possession was a matter of uncertainty, and when either the presence of the enemy, or the necessity of an advance, called his army into the field. The existence of stone buildings within the area of the station, of arched vaults beneath them, and of a regular paved causeway near it, all bear witness to the progressive improvements of a long continued occupation; while the votive inscription to the *Dii Manes* of Damion is sufficient to show that Ardoch was the seat of a Roman garrison long after the ages of Titus or Domitian.

At this spot we may fix, it is believed, the LINDUM of Ptolemy. Richard of Cirencester places it at the distance of 9 Roman miles from ALAUNA, 9 from VICTORIA, 9 from STRAGEATH, and 23 from ORREA on the Tay; with the localities of all of which the reader will immediately find that the position of Ardoch tolerably well agrees.

DALGINROSS. } A short way from Ardoch, on the route to Crieff, there  
is a road which diverges to the left, and leads along the course of the Knaik in the direction of Comrie. By following its course for the distance of eight miles, the traveller will find himself in the vicinity of the spot presumed to have been occupied by the Roman station of VICTORIA, and which is situated upon the farm of Dalginross, on the eastern bank of

\* v. Historical Transactions, *ante*, p. 73.

the river Ruchill, at the distance of about half a mile from its confluence with the Earn. About fifty or sixty years ago, the place was distinguished by the prominent vestiges of two Roman encampments; the one a rectangular inclosure, measuring 1200 by 950 feet; the other an irregular area, varying in width from 600 to 800 feet. Of the latter a few traces still remain, but the ramparts of the former have been all demolished. Both were fortified by a double *vallum* with an intervening ditch. The defences of the smaller inclosure seem to have been, however, of a much stronger character than those of the adjoining camp;<sup>a</sup> on which account it is more than probable that the first had been eventually occupied as a permanent station, although not originally designed for such a purpose.<sup>b</sup> The stream of the Ruchill, now three hundred yards distant, has at some former period flowed immediately under the ramparts, and it is to the agency of its winter current that we must ascribe their complete demolition on the north and north-eastern sides.

The ground within the area of what we shall call the station of Dalginross (distinguishing the other as the Temporary Camp) has been so long under cultivation, that all traces of any buildings which it may have contained have disappeared; but possibly enough there were many such obstacles to be removed before the field could be properly cultivated. The certainty of this encampment having been converted into a permanent station is confirmed by the circumstance of two military ways having led from its walls: the first of these issued from the south side, and passed, without doubt, to Ardoch; the other left the station at an opposite angle on the south-east, and terminated in all likelihood at Strageath.<sup>c</sup> Such roads were never to be found in connection with the mere temporary quarters of an army on the march; and, as one of those *Via* passed through the N.E. corner of the larger camp, we must suppose the road to have been constructed at a time when the purpose of the latter had been served, and after its protecting ramparts were abandoned to destruction. The station appears, therefore, to have been the most recent work of the two—founded perhaps, in the first instance, as an advanced post, to be garrisoned by a detachment from the

<sup>a</sup> Gordon states that, when he saw them, its earthen walls were fourteen feet high and seventeen broad—*Itin.* p. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, 63 and 127.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, 64—Gough's *Camd.* III. 382.

very legion which had previously entrenched itself within the adjacent lines.

On the system of Polybius, the temporary camp at Dalginross would have contained a body of from six to seven thousand men.<sup>a</sup> Its form was perfectly regular, representing on a reduced scale the single Consular camp of a Roman army, with this exception, that two of its four gates did not occupy their proper position at the central point of the opposite entrenchments north and south, but were placed considerably to the western side. There was something uncommon in the manner in which its gateways were defended; as they had been covered neither by straight nor circular traverses, but by others of a triangular and complicated form, totally dissimilar from the rectilineal epaulments of Ardoch, or the conical mounds at Birrensworck-hill.

The station on the Ruchill reposes in a beautiful valley, facing the mountain openings of Glenartney, Glenlednoch, and the upper Earn. The nature of its position was such as enabled its Roman garrison to maintain a watchful guard on those several outlets from the wild retreats of their Caledonian foes. It seems, in fact, to have formed one of a regular chain of military posts which fronted the various gorges of the Grampian hills—from Bochartle, near the Pass of Lennie in Callander parish, to Inchtuthill on the Tay, and even beyond it.<sup>b</sup> The entire plain about Dalginross was formerly studded with stone cairns and sepulchral *tumuli*—the memorials, no doubt, of some mighty conflict which had broken of old the silence of its forest glades. Among those supposed monuments of battle were three or four masses of stone, placed within the camp itself, not far from its southern entrance: the largest of them, and the last which remained erect, measured about twelve feet in height.<sup>c</sup>

According to the relative distances of the various stations which are mentioned in the Ninth *Iter* of Richard,<sup>d</sup> there is much reason to believe that the ancient ramparts at Dalginross indicate the site of the Roman VICTORIA. In another part of his work he informs us—following, in all likelihood, the

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 64.

<sup>b</sup> v. Chalm I. c. IV.

<sup>c</sup> Hors. p. 44—Roy, 64—Gord. 40.

<sup>d</sup> As this *Iter* has been more than once referred to in the course of our remarks, and as it

venerable Bede<sup>a</sup>—that the colony in question had been founded by Agricola, after his great battle with Galgacus. It is very probable that the Pro-prætor of Domitian was the first to establish a military post at Dalgin-ross, to which the lofty appellation of VICTORIA may have been given in commemoration of his then recent triumph;<sup>b</sup> but it was undoubtedly at a much later period that it rose into any importance, and assumed the character of a municipal settlement.

It must be allowed, that, on a first view of the subject, we may incline to doubt the accuracy of placing a Roman provincial town on the banks of the Ruchill, since, on looking to the neighbourhood of Comrie, the reader might feel inclined to ask if it was not a most imprudent arrangement to set down the dwelling places of a semi-degenerate race—the subdued section of the Northern islanders—in a position like this—a narrow plain situated in such

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 128.

<sup>b</sup> v. ante Histor. Trans.

may probably be so again, we here give it entire. The reader will observe, that where no distances are mentioned, they are wanting in the original.

ITER IX.

A LUGUBALLIO PTOROTONIM USQUE SIC.

|                  |      |       |
|------------------|------|-------|
| Trimontio, ..... | M.P. | - - - |
| Gadanica, .....  | "    | - - - |
| Curia, .....     | "    | - - - |
| Ad Vallum, ..... | "    | - - - |

INCIPIT VESPASIANA.

|                           |      |        |
|---------------------------|------|--------|
| Alauna, .....             | M.P. | XII.   |
| Lindo, .....              | "    | VIII.  |
| Victoria, .....           | "    | VIII.  |
| Ad Hiernam, .....         | "    | VIII.  |
| Orrea, .....              | "    | XIII.  |
| Ad Tavum, .....           | "    | XVIII. |
| Ad Aesicam, .....         | "    | XXIII. |
| Ad Tinam, .....           | "    | VIII.  |
| Devana, .....             | "    | XXIII. |
| Ad Itunam, ...            | "    | XXIII. |
| Ad Montem Grampium, ..... | "    | - - -  |
| Ad Selinam, .....         | "    | - - -  |
| Tuessis, .....            | "    | XVIII. |
| Ptorotone, .....          | "    | - - -  |

Supposed to be from *Carlisle* to *Burghead*, thus :—

*Eildon.*  
— — —  
*Currie.*  
*Camelon.*

IT THEN ENTERS VESPASIANA.

*Kierfield on the Allan.*  
*Ardoch.*  
*Dalginross.*  
*Strageath on the Earn.*  
*Bertha.*  
*Invergourie.*  
*Breckin.*  
*About Pert, Logie parish.*  
*Norman Dykes.*  
*Re-Dykes.*  
*Near Grange Kirk.*  
*Deskford.*  
*Gordon Castle.*  
*Burghead.*<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Milia Passuum*—Roman miles—each measuring 1000 Roman paces of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  English feet.

<sup>b</sup> v. Stukeley's Commentary, who fills in the Numerals XXVII. opposite to the last-mentioned station, without giving any authority for so doing—and Roy, B. IV.



close neighbourhood to a relentless and daring enemy, whose fiery blood boiled with peculiar rancour against their renegade countrymen, the chief inhabitants of those municipal settlements? There can be but one answer, we should think, to the question; either that the name of VICTORIA has in this case been misapplied, or that our former surmise on the subject of civic privileges is here in some measure confirmed, by finding the second of the free towns standing, like the first,<sup>a</sup> on the extreme limit of the Roman conquests.<sup>b</sup>

STRAGEATH. } The farm of Strageath is situated on the south bank  
of the Earn, distant eight and a half miles from Dalginross, and six miles from Ardoch. Many years have passed since its fields became almost entirely cleared of such encumbrances as the dykes and ditches of a Roman station. Time was, however, when the inquisitive wanderer could find attraction there, in the long-preserved forms of both. The ridge of a moderate rising ground, abutting upon the river nearly opposite to Inverpeffry, was the site of those remains. In their most perfect condition of which we have any knowledge, the Roman works at Strageath comprised the shattered outlines of a permanent station, supplied with a *Procestrium* or addition on one side, somewhat resembling that at Birrens, and of a large camp adjacent, which covered an area of seventeen Scots acres. The interior of the former, including both its divisions, (that is, Station and *Procestrium*,) measured nearly 750 by 400 feet. It was protected by a treble line of ramparts and trenches, and had a single *vallum* across the interior, which separated the two compartments. The latter lay to the north-west, on the direct line of the Military Way, which passed through it immediately before crossing the Earn.<sup>c</sup>

Assuming the post at Strageath to have been the *HIERNA* of Richard, it seems rather strange that his ninth *Iter* should make the detour by Dalginross, instead of proceeding from Ardoch in a direct line towards the Tay.<sup>d</sup> In one point of view we might endeavour to account for this, by supposing that the road had been first constructed from LINDUM to VICTORIA, and had thence

<sup>a</sup> Theodosia.

<sup>b</sup> See Roy's remarks on the position of Victoria, as indicated by Bede, p. 128—and Hora. 378, who, in ignorance of Richards' work—which was then undiscovered—places it at Abernethy.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, 128—Maitland's Hist. v. I. p. 196.

<sup>d</sup> Does his AD *HIERNAM* not sound as near to "at the Earn" as we could expect the phrase to do in a Latin dress?

followed the course of the Earn, to the station of *HIERNA*,<sup>a</sup> while the *Via* by the muir of Orchill might be of a later date, and unknown to the original compiler of those *Itinera*. But should this view of the subject seem unsatisfactory, it must then be remembered that we have no authority for believing that the tables referred to were intended to point out the nearest available route from one place to another: they may as probably have been designed to give a list of all the chief military posts which might be visited by certain lines of road—hence perhaps the cause of the divergence at Ardoch, and the northerly circuit by Dalginross.<sup>b</sup>

BERTHA. } The next station upon our route is that of *ORREA*, laid  
 } down by Richard as being fourteen miles distant from  
*HIERNA*, on the way to the Roman settlements in the north-east of the island—even to the rocky coasts “lashed by the waters of Thule.” Now let us follow for thirteen statute miles the track of the ancient causeway, as it is still seen to proceed along the heights of Gask, towards the neighbourhood of Scone; and, when the journey approaches to a close, we shall find ourselves on the banks of the river Almond, where its mountain current mingles with the Tay. Here, question the intelligent native if he knows anything of ancient Rome, and whether tradition has ever connected the memory of her people with the fertile landscape immediately around; and it is probable that he will direct your attention to the mouth of the Almond, where once stood the hamlet of Bertha, and tell you that the Romans had at one time built and settled there: he may even add, if gifted with a share of native humour, that you may visit Rome itself by simply crossing the river, where, curiously enough, there is a farmer’s house which bears the name. Nor are his words to be called in question; for the information which he communicates is not the fruit of fanciful conjecture, but well-founded and quite susceptible of proof.

By descending the north bank of the Almond, to within 300 yards of its mouth, we reach a piece of rising ground, evidently artificial, which extends from that point towards the Tay, to the length of about 850 feet. At its western extremity it appears slightly curved,<sup>c</sup> but afterwards it runs in a straight

<sup>a</sup> v. MAP, Part II.

<sup>b</sup> Some additional memoranda on the antiquities of this district will be found under the head of “Military Ways.”

<sup>c</sup> This bend turns southward, and shows that the ramparts were continued in that direction.

and unbroken line, excepting near the centre, where an opening seems to have been cut through it. This embankment formed, there can be little doubt, the northern rampart of one of their *Castra Stativa*, which had been planted by the Romans at that spot, to protect their line of communication with the military settlements in and beyond Strathmore. The stream of the Almond, which formerly joined the Tay considerably to the south of its present course,<sup>a</sup> now bisects the site of the Roman station, and has washed away the whole of the rising ground where it stood, with the exception of that part occupied by the small portion of the works which has just been alluded to. We have therefore no means of knowing what was the original size or strength of the station; although, to judge by the vestiges which exist, it may be inferred that its area had been probably about 800 feet square.<sup>b</sup> A portion of the south rampart was visible in Maitland's time, who observed on two sides the distinct remains of a "great rampart and ditch,"<sup>c</sup> which he had no hesitation in believing to be Roman.

We have mentioned that the waters of the Almond have from time immemorial been encroaching upon its northern banks, and that they now flow through the very centre of the ancient fort. The consequence of this gradual change has been, that, as the soil gave way to the undermining progress of the river, many long-concealed relics of the past have from time to time been exposed, and the burial-place of the Roman soldier, situated on the western side of the station, and as usual immediately without the ramparts, has been laid open.

The first discovery, of which we find any notice, happened to be made about 75 years ago, when a very large sepulchral urn was found projecting from the northern bank of the Almond, 160 yards to the west of the then existing village. It was composed of very fine clay, of a light brown colour, was capable of holding about ten English gallons, and, what is rather remarkable, was lined in the interior with a coating of brass, much corroded, and covered with verdigris. To the mortification of the finder, it contained nothing but ashes, and it was soon after unfortunately broken to pieces. Sufficient attention had, however, been awakened by its appearance to induce a farther search at the place where it had lain; and the result was,

<sup>a</sup> Roy—N. Stat. Acc. Scone P.

<sup>b</sup> v. Roy.    <sup>c</sup> Hist. of Scot. I. 198, 199. Maitland wrote about the middle of last century.

that many other discoveries of a similar nature were subsequently effected there. In the face of the same bank were observed, at first six, and afterwards two more, semicircular pillars of earth, about eighteen feet in height, and extending from the top of the bank down to the bed of the river. The mould composing these so-called pillars was of a dark colour, and the soil of the bank being itself of a reddish tint, the one contrasted boldly with the other, rendering the appearance of the columnar lines exceedingly distinct. They stood respectively some ten feet apart, and at the bottom of each was placed one or more sepulchral vases. None of these were so large as the one first mentioned, nor were any of them coated within in the same manner. Some were of a size capable of containing from three to four gallons, while others would have held little more than a single quart; they all appear to have contained ashes, in one instance mixed with charred pieces of oak, amongst which lay a small glass phial, or lacrymatory—the empty witness of “long dried up tears.” Here was one mode of ancient sepulture curiously brought to light, by the troubled current of the Almond, in its seasons of wrath. A circular pit had been dug, to a considerable depth; the inurned ashes of the dead were deposited at the bottom; and the excavation was then filled up, for some unknown reason, with dark alluvial soil, which had to all appearance been tightly pressed down.

In the year 1774, some gentlemen from Perth paid a visit to the spot immediately after the usual winter floods, and set about examining the base of one of the earthen pillars then recently exposed. Their researches had not proceeded far till they met with a large-sized urn,<sup>a</sup> resting upon a square tablet of black vitrified brick, round which was a raised edging or border. This urn had two handles, and stood on three rounded knobs or feet; beside it were some bricks, on which lay the remains of a helmet, and the socket of a spear, nearly consumed by rust, with part of the wooden handle remaining in it. Beneath the whole was found an oblong bar of lead, 73 pounds in weight, on one side of which were the following marks:—( “ J. XXXX. ” It is a singular fact that many similar blocks have been discovered in various parts of the island—either on the site of some of the stations which had been occupied by the Romans, or in the neighbourhood of their military ways.

<sup>a</sup> Large enough to hold between three and four English gallons.

<sup>b</sup> See “the Muses Threnodie,” edited by Cant, pp. 21 and 25. (Perth, 1774.)

Occasionally they are found stamped in the above manner with letters or numerals, and at times with the name and titles of some Roman emperor.<sup>a</sup> In the one case, the inscription may perhaps refer to the weight of the block or to the name of the founder who cast it: in the other, to some tax imposed upon the metal. They all bear a general resemblance; and so many possess, inscribed upon them, the unquestionable proofs of their antiquity, that we need have little hesitation in fixing the probable age of the whole. A place of burial, eighteen feet underground, is certainly not the exact spot in which we should have expected to find anything of the kind; nor do we pretend to account for its appearance there. The fact of its discovery is, however, before us; although we regret to say the *lead* is not, nor can we ascertain what has become of it.<sup>b</sup>

The Roman causeway from Strageath reached the Tay near Bertha—proceeding thence to the large temporary camp at Grassy-walls,<sup>c</sup> situated half a mile distant on the opposite side of the river, and leading from it into Strathmore. The remains of this road are still to be seen near the mound of the station at Bertha. In a line, or nearly so, with this rampart, there is a passage across the river, called Derder's Ford; and, four hundred yards farther up the stream, may yet be distinguished some traces of a very ancient bridge, generally supposed to have existed there from the era of the Roman occupation. The foundations of this bridge consisted of a number of large oak planks, strongly fastened together, and secured by means of iron cramps—some of which planks still remain embedded in the channel. It cannot certainly be proved that they have any decided connection with the Roman road; still it seems improbable that a Roman garrison should have continued for a series of years at Bertha without having had some more convenient means of crossing the river than was afforded by the adjacent shallows: it would therefore be unwise wholly to reject the supposition that these oaken timbers belonged to a Roman bridge—a wooden structure, somewhat similar, perhaps, to that which Julius Cæsar threw across the Rhine.<sup>d</sup>

Having thus followed the track of the Military Way to the required distance

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camd.* III. 353. Several specimens may be seen in the British Museum.

<sup>b</sup> An ancient bar of lead was likewise found in the Roman fort at Kirkintilloch. See chapter IV. "Wall of Antoninus."

<sup>c</sup> v. "Temporary Camps."

<sup>d</sup> v. *De Bell. Gall.* Lib. IV. c. xv. It is well known that wooden piles endure for a great length of time when placed under water.

from Strageath, and discovered the vestiges of a Roman settlement, exactly where, by Richard's Table, we should have expected to find them, we are naturally struck with some feelings of surprise that it should yet be possible to trace, with so much apparent accuracy, the course of the Roman roads, and thus to light, as it were, on the actual position of their itinerary stations.

As the central point, whence the Ninth *Iter* of Richard conducts towards the coasts of the North Sea, and to which his Tenth descends, by an inland route, from the Moray Firth, the station at the mouth of the Almond agrees remarkably well with what we should suppose had been the position of the ancient ORREA. The modern road by Glenshee and Braemar to Forres proceeds, in fact, nearly on the track of the last mentioned line, which, following the most convenient descent along the mountainous interior, naturally joined at Bertha the principal if not the only highway which led from the eastward. At the presumed ORREA the two *Itinera* united, and proceeded from it in one line towards the west.<sup>a</sup>

The neighbourhood of Bertha has, no doubt, been the scene of several important military transactions, occurring in times long subsequent to the now shadowy era of Roman power. The great battle of Luncarty, in which the Danes were defeated by Kenneth the Third, was fought not far from the mouth of the Almond. Buchanan says that the village in question was a place of some consequence at that period, and that it was besieged by the invaders a short time previous to that memorable engagement. But it is certain that neither the warlike preparations of Scot or Dane had anything to do with the construction of those earthen *valla* which stood on the north bank of the Almond;<sup>b</sup> and we must certainly look to a much earlier age for any records of the men who formed the adjacent causeway—who placed the lacrymatory beside the ashes of the dead—or who buried the brass-coated urn in the columnar hollow of the tomb.

The reader will perceive, by a glance at our map,<sup>c</sup> that three several lines of way take their departure from ORREA. The first of them points out the supposed track of Richard's Tenth *Iter*, leading southward from the Burghead;

<sup>a</sup> *Vide* Map of N. Britain, Part II.

<sup>b</sup> The fort at Bertha appears to have had the form of the stations at Ardoch and elsewhere—oblong and rounded at the corners.

<sup>c</sup> N. Brit. Part II.

the second shows the presumed course of the Ninth, advancing by the east coast to the same ultimate destination; and the third or central line indicates the route of the Roman causeway, as it has been traced, proceeding on a parallel course with the rivers Tay and Isla, towards the temporary camp at Battle-dykes. On each of these routes have been discovered some few memorials of other ages, which seem to claim connection with our subject as the *vestigia* of permanent Roman stations. Beyond the Tay, however, we enter upon much more uncertain ground than any hitherto visited. The traces of the more permanent settlements become few and indistinct; and we are chiefly called on to examine the remains of the Temporary Camps, which form the subject of the following Section.

Except in some two or three instances, it cannot be attempted to fix the position of the Itinerary stations, in that part of the island, on any better foundation than the occasional coincidence of their relative distances with certain localities naturally favourable for the establishment of military posts, and therefore most likely to have been selected as the sites of the stations in question. We have no intention of pursuing the course of those *Itinera*, as it were, step by step, with the object of discussing either the probabilities or the improbabilities of the generally-received opinions which may be said to determine, at the present day, the chorography of Roman Scotland. We linger rather among the actual ruins of the pile than on the viewless theory of its assumed design; and, as the subject before us is drawing to a close, we shall briefly advert to such of our military antiquities as seem to decide the position of some of the *Castra Hiberna* which existed beyond the Tay; without attempting, where no remains exist, to find a site for each and all of the stations mentioned by Richard. We have given in our Map the presumed course of his Northern *Itinera*, with the position of what may be called their respective travelling stages, as laid down by the most valued authorities; and we should hope that this view of his entire *Diaphragmata*, as he calls them, will not prove uninteresting, although the direct evidences which bear upon them are somewhat "few and far between."

With regard to the causewayed road, which led from Bertha in the direction of Cupar-Angus, it need only be mentioned in connection with the several temporary camps existing on its line, as we cannot discover that any distinct traces of a permanent Roman station have ever been observed in that

part of Strathmore. Maitland the historian takes notice of an oblong inclosure situated at Castleton, near Cupar-Angus, having a very high rampart and deep ditch, with "great appearance of ruins," which he conjectured was a Roman work.\* Possibly it may have been so; but as nothing more can now be said respecting its appearance, it is unnecessary to enter into any speculations on the subject. Reversing the Tenth *Iter* of Richard, and taking it as leading from ORREA northward,<sup>b</sup> we look for the position of his IN MEDIO on the route *per mediam Insulæ*, between eight and nine statute miles from the mouth of the Almond; and discover nearly where they ought to be found—the old and singular military works of Inchtuthil,<sup>c</sup> still in partial preservation, adjoining to the mansion house of Delvine, and about a mile and a half distant from the village of Lethendy.

INCHTUTHIL. } Let the reader figure to himself an elevated piece of table land, rising on every side to a height of sixty feet above the surrounding plain, which might all be inclosed within the parallelogram of a square mile, with the exception of one broad corner that breaks on the general quadrature of its shape, and projects, in the form of an irregular

\* Hist. of Scot. v. I. p. 200. It measured 60 by 100 yards.

<sup>b</sup> This document is as follows:—

| ITER X.   |                         | Supposed to be from <i>Burg-</i><br><i>head</i> , by the middle of the<br>Island, to <i>Easter</i> , thus:— |
|---|-------------------------|---|
| AB ULTIMA PTOROTONE PER MEDIAM INSULÆ ISCA<br>DAMNONORUM USQUE SIC. |                         |   |
| Varia, .....  | M.P. VIII. <sup>1</sup> | <i>Forres.</i>  |
| Ad Tuessim, .....   | „ XVIII.                | <i>Cromdale.</i>  |
| Tamea, .....  | „ XXVIII.               | <i>Braemar Castle.</i>  |
| ———— <sup>2</sup> .....   | „ XXI.                  | —   |
| In Medio, .....   | „ VIII.                 | <i>Inchtuthil.</i>  |
| Orrea, .....  | „ VIII.                 | <i>Bertha.</i>  |
| Victoria, <sup>3</sup> .....  | „ XVIII.                | <i>Dalginross.</i>  |
| Ad Vallum, <sup>4</sup> .....                                       | „ XXXII.                | <i>Camelon.</i>   |
| Luguballio, .....   | „ LXXX.                 | <i>Carlisle.</i>  |

The *Iter* then proceeds through England, whither it is unnecessary to follow it.

<sup>1</sup> "ix," according to Stukeley's copy.

<sup>2</sup> A Station, name not given. Stukeley has the opposite numerals "xx."

<sup>3</sup> In the Ninth *Iter* the distance between these two stations is stated at 23 miles. A gross error exists in one or the other.

<sup>4</sup> xxx, according to Stukeley.

<sup>c</sup> Inchtuthil or Inchstuthil signifies the "Island in the flooded stream"—*v. Sinc. Stat. Acc.* Chalmers derives the name from *Inishtuathal*, the "North Island"—*Caled. I. p. 175.*



triangle, to the distance of about six or seven hundred yards, and he will have some idea of the appearance of the former island of Inchtuthil—a remarkable locality amid the scenery of Stormont, independent of its attractions in an antiquarian point of view.

The greatest part of this *plateau* was at one time intersected by the remains of ancient fortifications, which General Roy believed to have been originally of Roman construction; although he thought it not improbable that those works had been, at some after period, occupied by the Picts or Danes, who may have altered at different points the original plan of the Roman defences, and left the traces of their own labours mingled with those of the imperial legions.<sup>a</sup> “The old works,” he says, “remaining here, consist of four parts; first, a camp of about five hundred yards square; secondly, part of a square redoubt, near the east point of the island, on the top of the bank which overlooks the Tay; thirdly, a long line to the westward of the camp, extending across from the top of one bank to the top of the other; and, fourthly, a strong entrenched post on the extreme point of the island toward the west.” On the east side of the camp, between it and the redoubt, stood two *tumuli* of a circular form, and within the post, at the S.W. angle of the table-land, there were five others of a similar description.

The redoubt alluded to was probably the citadel of the station.<sup>b</sup> It seems to have been much of the same size with the Roman post at Dalginross; for although, in Roy’s time, its walls had become greatly dilapidated, enough remained to show that its area had not been less than 500 feet square, and that its defences had been highly respectable. The camp was very strongly fortified by a double line of ramparts, separated by a fosse. The former were nine and a half feet in thickness, and were built of stone, apparently brought from a quarry about two miles distant. The stones have now been carried away, but many traces of the entrenchments still remain. Several fragments of weapons, picked up in the neighbourhood, were, as far as we can learn, the only other objects worthy of notice discovered there.<sup>c</sup>

According to Holinshed, Hector Boëce mentions Inchtuthil by the name of TULINA, and tells us that it was a well-fortified settlement of the Picts,

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 75-76.

<sup>b</sup> Roy takes notice of what seemed to be the site of its *Prætorium*—p. 133.

<sup>c</sup> v. Sinc. Stat. Acc. Caputh P.

who found it necessary to desert and burn it on the approach of Agricola. Boece is generally regarded as a very questionable authority in such matters, and the accuracy of his statement cannot be relied on. Inchtuthil, from its isolated position, seems likely enough, however, to have been occupied by some of the Celtic clans who were domiciled in that part of the country before the arrival of the Romans. Assembled upon its broad summit, with their families and cattle, the wary and suspicious Celtæ of eighteen centuries ago were in comparative safety; the place was easily made difficult of access; and, from its elevated situation, it stood, we may suppose, beyond the reach of any sudden surprise. In possession of the Romans, it must have enabled them to command the whole of Stormont, and the passes leading from the district of Athole, in a southerly direction. It has been conjectured, indeed, that the Roman garrison of Inchtuthil had, by means of an earthen rampart, connected their works at that spot with a small fort on the river Isla, two and a half miles distant, which enabled them more effectually to cut off all means of egress from the mountain districts beyond. The remains of this *Vallum* are described as having been about twenty feet thick, protected by a ditch on either side. It stretched from the old bed of the Tay at Inchtuthil to the banks of the Isla, at a point two miles above the present confluence of these rivers,—forming a triangular-shaped inclosure, bounded on the right and left by the convergent streams, and in front by the rampart in question. Within the area of this *delta*, which measured about two miles long on each of its three sides, were several conical rising grounds, supposed to have been exploratory mounds.\* If we may regard it as a work of the Romans, the existence of this wall must necessarily confer some additional importance on the works at Inchtuthil as the *vestigia* of a Roman station; showing them to have formed part of a great advanced post, in connection with which no labour had been spared to secure the full advantages of its naturally strong position.

Here was situated, it is believed, the *IN MEDIO* of Richards' Itinerary, and, possibly enough, there may be some connection between this appellation and the island locality of the entrenchments at Inchtuthil. To all appearance, the Tay has covered, at no very distant date, what were the march lands around it—

\* v. Sinc. Stat. Acc. IX. 506. *Cleaving Dyke* was the name by which it was known in later times.

washing, in its seasons of overflow, the water-worn borders of the central table-land on every side. In Roman times, therefore, its position may have been perfectly isolated, and to it the term *IN MEDIO FLUVIO* would not inaptly apply; and since its distance from the presumed Orrea corresponds so nearly as it does with the number of miles which intervened between the two stations,<sup>a</sup> we shall not be far wrong, perhaps, in adopting the opinion which sets it down as the first station to the eastward of the Tay.

It will be observed by our map, that, according to some authorities, the track of the Tenth *Iter* proceeded in a straight line by the valley of Glenshee to Braemar; while, in the opinion of others, it diverged in the first place considerably to the eastward, so as to reach the commanding point at Barry Castle, where the river Isla debouches from the mountains into the plains of Strathmore. At Barry Castle, Roy places the nameless station which we find set down as nine Roman miles distant from *IN MEDIO*. The *TAMEA* of the *Iter* he fixes at Braemar; and its *AD TUESSIM* at Cromdale on the Spey; all excellent military positions, but totally destitute of any Roman remains.<sup>b</sup> We tread on surer ground as we descend into the plain of Forres; for on the site of that town undoubtedly stood the ancient *VARIS*; the first station from *PROBTON*, by the route along the middle of the Island. Its distance from the Burghead coincides most accurately with the eight miles of the *Iter*; and we may believe that the striking resemblance of the two names is something more than accidental.<sup>c</sup> When the streets of Forres were being repaired about fifty years ago, several Roman coins were discovered under the pavement,<sup>d</sup> where they must have lain for a long succession of ages. On Clunie-hill, to the eastward of the town, are the vestiges of a circular British stronghold; but no traces remain in that neighbourhood of anything which might be called a Roman work. There is every reason, however, while looking for the site of those Itinerary stations, to place considerable dependence on the position, and not a little upon the name of Forres.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> v. Roy, 133—who supposes it to be probably identical with the *Medionemetum* of the Ravenna Tables.

<sup>b</sup> Milit. Ant. pp. 132, 133.

<sup>c</sup> The F has been often substituted for the V. The *Varar* of Richard, for instance, a river in Ross-shire, is known as the Farar at the present day—v. Chalm. I. 131.

<sup>d</sup> In 1843, a copper coin of the Emperor Titus was found near Sueno's pillar, in the vicinity of Forres. It bears the well-known reverse of a female mourning under a palm tree, with the legend—*Judea capta*.

<sup>e</sup> v. Chalm. I. c. iv.

BURGHEAD. } A short stage conducts the traveller from the quiet streets of Forres to the Moray Firth, at the point where its restless waters break on the rocky promontory of the Burghead. This tongue of land, as it may, from its shape, be appropriately called, projects into the sea, to the distance of about five hundred yards, beyond the general line of the coast,—decreasing in width from, we should say, one thousand to four hundred feet, and terminating in a semicircular precipitous wall of rocks, which rise nearly sixty feet above the low water-mark. The exterior half of this promontory was, at one time, separated from its landward side by two deep trenches, which extended the whole way across; and the entire summit, thus isolated towards the sea, was surrounded and intersected by the remains of ancient fortifications. A rampart, twenty feet high, extended along the edge of the precipitous sides, and afterwards bisected the neck of land nearly on a parallel with the trenches mentioned; inclosing an irregular, but somewhat oval shaped area, which was again divided into two compartments by another wall. Those ramparts had all been apparently built of oaken planks, cased with stone and lime; and, such as they are described, were much more probably of Danish than of Roman construction.<sup>a</sup> We should, therefore, put little faith in those remains as having any connection with the locality of a Roman station, did not some other circumstances call our attention to the spot—which, joined to its advantageous military position, and to its distance from Forres coinciding so minutely with that laid down in the *Iter*, lead to a pretty strong belief that *there* had stood the citadel of PROTORON, the last of the so-called free colonies of Roman Britain. The circumstances alluded to are, the discovery at Burghead of a Roman bath, and also of a deep well, built in the same manner, and with as much regularity, as those which have been brought to light within the Roman stations of the South—a work beyond the capabilities of the aboriginal inhabitants, or of the pirate rovers of Norway and Denmark.<sup>b</sup>

Richard says that PROTORON was originally the chief town of the *Vacomagi*,

<sup>a</sup> The gradual extension of the village of Burghead has led to the demolition of the greater part of these works.

<sup>b</sup> v. Chalm. I. Pref. viii. and p. 130—Roy, 132—N. Stat Acc. Duffus P. Till recent times, the Burghead was by the highlanders called “Tory-town.” It does not imperatively require an antiquarian ear to find a likeness here with the Roman *Ptoroton*. See survey of Moray, 1798, p. 51.

a native tribe, whose territories lay to the eastward of Loch Ness. In those stirring times, when every man's eye, and hand too, was in his neighbour's sheep-fold, or, we should rather say, among his beeves, the strong defensive corner at Burghead was not to be neglected. Behind its ramparts the *Celtæ* of Elgin and Nairn might with safety despise the cupidity of their roving neighbours of the surrounding districts—secure against every hazard but that which sprung from the superior knowledge of a Roman foe. The foundations of their baths tell of a fixed settlement on the part of the Romans; and it may be that the last remains of other of their buildings still lie hid under the existing ramparts of the Danish fort.\*

Remote as was the settlement of PROBORON, it did not, apparently, stand upon the extreme boundary of the Roman conquests. At the ruined church of Bona, six miles to the west of Inverness,<sup>b</sup> may still be observed the remains of an oblong encampment, bearing a considerable resemblance to the minor posts of the legionary troops; but, as it contained many remains of stone buildings, the additions seemingly of more recent times, it is impossible to be certain of its actual origin. Along the southern shore of the Moray Firth many antiques have been discovered, some the undoubted, others the supposed, relics of a Roman age. At Inshoch, three miles east of Nairn, and fifteen miles to the west of the Burghead, were dug up several spear-heads of brass; two of them exactly corresponding in shape with the ordinary *hasta* of the heavy armed cohorts, and two with that of the cavalry lance.<sup>c</sup> Some relics of a similar description were found at Arderseer, near Fort-George; and many Roman coins have besides been met with at the town of Nairn, and at other places in the neighbourhood.<sup>d</sup> It may also be mentioned, that a considerable number of similar coins were discovered at a point so far within the limits of the Caledonian forest as Fort-Augustus. Some labourers,

\* *Burgus* was the Danish name: hence *Burg*-head. This was probably the *Droithon* of Nennius—*v.* Roy, 132.

<sup>b</sup> This place was also called Boness. Some writers are inclined to regard it as the site of Ptolemy's BANATIA, which is likewise mentioned by Richard; conceiving that the Latinised *Bonneria* has a kindred sound—Chalm. I. 62, 179—Roy, 134.

<sup>c</sup> Such as may often be seen upon the Roman sculptures—*v.* Josephus, Lib. III. c. III.

<sup>d</sup> Chalm. I. 179. In the year 1460, there was discovered at Beán Castle, near Nairn, a marble vase, neatly ornamented with carving, and filled with Roman coins—Gough's Camden, III. 427. About seventy years ago, an earthen urn was also found near Nairn, containing a great number of silver coins, all Roman—*Idem*. 430.

while engaged in digging a trench at that place, in the year 1767, came upon an earthen urn of a blue colour, in which were found no less than three hundred pieces of ancient money—said to have been all from the mint of the Emperor Diocletian.\*

The forces of Antoninus Pius are believed to have proceeded northward as far as the point of land which divides the Cromarty from the Moray Firth. At that spot stood, according to some accounts, the *Aræ Finium Imperii Romani*. The Westminster monk has been careful to indicate the spot, by representing two little beacons on his map, placed between the estuary of the *Varar* and the *Loxa* river.<sup>b</sup> No one can tell what sort of erections those altars were; it may even be doubted whether they ever had any but an imaginary existence. The position assigned them does, however, most probably indicate the actual extremity of the Roman progress. There is, at all events, no reason to suppose that either the troops of Urbicus or of Severus had ever penetrated farther north. The invaders of Caledonia had had enough perhaps of this barren and inglorious conquest, by the time that their camp-fires were lit among the wilds of Cromarty. They had surmounted, who knows at how great a sacrifice! the mighty barriers of the Grampian Hills—but to what avail? Here, on the distant shores of the Moray Firth, there still appeared no termination to their toils—a fresh world of mountains rose before the wearied soldier at every step—frowning and desolate as those which he had passed; he may have longed for the proud satisfaction of planting the Roman standards by the dark-rolling seas of the Orcades—the fancied boundaries of the habitable globe; but, under all circumstances, he was perhaps well satisfied to leave the wilds of Ross-shire unexplored, and to plant the altars of *Terminus* on the level strand of the *Varar*.

Returning to the mouth of the Almond, we find the Ninth of the ancient *Itinera* proceeding thence to PROXORON, by such a lengthy route that there seems no reason to question the opinion of those who carry its track along the Carse of Gowrie, and from the Firth of Tay northward, in a nearly parallel line with the coasts of Kincardine and Aberdeen.<sup>c</sup> Of the eight stations,

\* See Scots Magaz. 1767, p. 326.

<sup>b</sup> Roy fixes the *Aræ* at Tarbitness; but the above locality certainly corresponds better with their position as laid down in Richards' Map—*v.* Chalm. I. 187.

<sup>c</sup> Some difference of opinion, which exists as to the minor details of its course, will be found referred to in the Map of North Britain, Part II.

mentioned as being situated on this route, between ORREA and PROROTON, not one indubitable vestige exists, nor is known to have existed, within the ken of modern times. Some few traces of old military works have indeed been here and there pointed to, as claiming a probable connection with those stations of the *Iter*, of which all history is lost, from the circumstance of their relative positions agreeing tolerably well with the distances as laid down by Richard.

The remains of a rectangular camp, about 200 yards square, situated near Invergowrie, two miles to the west of Dundee, is regarded as the first of the stations referred to. It was fortified with a high rampart and spacious ditch;<sup>a</sup> and, although every vestige of its existence has now disappeared, the spot where it stood is still known by the name of "Catter Milly," a supposed corruption of the Latin words *quatuor milia*.<sup>b</sup> Some may be inclined to smile at the fancied resemblance attempted to be here established, and perhaps with justice; although it is certainly a curious fact, that, according to the Polybian system, a square of six hundred feet would prove just sufficient for the accommodation of four thousand men. Without making any great allowance for the probable imperfections of the ancient measurements, the AD TAVUM of the *Iter* may very probably have been in the neighbourhood of Invergowrie.<sup>c</sup>

The next remains of ancient fortification to be noticed, are situated near the house of Fordoun, in the parish of the same name, Kincardineshire: their traces have become nearly obliterated; but, according to existing accounts, there was formerly to be seen at that spot the distinct vestiges of what was considered to have been a Roman station. Its area is said to have measured about 270 by 150 feet. The force contained within it could not therefore have been great; but, from all that is now known, the security of its garrison had been well provided for by the strength of the fortifications. In trenching a morass near it several spear-heads were found, presumed to be Roman, but with what justice we are unable to say.<sup>d</sup> The position of Fordoun does not correspond with the required distance from about Dundee or Invergowrie, either of AD AESSICUM or AD TINAM, the next stations of the *Iter*. The one is supposed to have been situated on the south Esk<sup>e</sup> at Brechin; the other

<sup>a</sup> Maitland, I. p. 215.

<sup>b</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Liff P.

<sup>c</sup> Chalmers has it at Dundee—Roy at Broughty Castle, a few miles more to the eastward.

<sup>d</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Fordoun P.

<sup>e</sup> The *Aerica Fluvius* of Richard.

on the North Esk,<sup>a</sup> about Pert, in Logie Parish: but no remains exist at either of these places. General Roy finds the following stage, that of DEVANA, at Old Aberdeen; while Mr. Chalmers connects its site with the summer camp of Norman-dykes. The ancient DIVA, or DEVA, the Dee, flows at no great distance from either, and no exclusive claim can therefore be made in favour of the one or the other locality on that account. A number of Roman coins have been found at Old Aberdeen, or in its neighbourhood;<sup>b</sup> but this circumstance is not of sufficient importance to decide the question; and, on the whole, it would perhaps be most proper to place DEVANA at Norman-dykes, had the slightest traces of a permanent station been discovered there. As it is, the whole remains a matter of conjecture. Mr. Chalmers' opinion would no doubt have considerable weight, if we take it for granted that in the case of Norman-dykes, as at Ohew Green, Ardoch, and Strageath, the large camp had been established in the vicinity or a regular garrison station.<sup>c</sup>

The AD ITUNAM of Richard is supposed to have stood on the river Ythan, either near its mouth, or in the neighbourhood of its source at the temporary camp in Glen-inailen;<sup>d</sup> his MONS GRAMPIUS, at Mormond Hill, near Strichen, Aberdeenshire, or about the Hill of Knock, in the parish of Grange, Banffshire;<sup>e</sup> and his SELINA, either at Banff, or at the old castle of Deskford on the Cullen, a small rivulet, which flows at the distance of two miles from the village of that name. About a mile to the north of the Kirk of Grange, there are some traces of an oblong encampment, as well as a few vestiges of other military works, possibly Roman, although, in general, thought to be of Danish origin; and thrown up, it is presumed, towards the close of the ninth century, during their contests with the Scots, after those Northmen had effected a landing at Cullen.

At Deskford, the indistinct remains of a large rectangular encampment were visible some fifty or sixty years ago, and, likewise, upwards of four hundred yards of an ancient paved road, which led directly towards it from the south-east. Some Roman coins, of the Empress Faustina and of Antoninus Pius, have also been found in its vicinity.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The supposed TINA of the same author.

<sup>b</sup> Gordon Itin. p. 186.

<sup>c</sup> *v.* Chalm. I. 125—Roy, 130.

<sup>d</sup> *v.* Temp. Camps.

<sup>e</sup> See Map of N. Brit. Part II.

<sup>f</sup> Chalm. I. 128.



The neighbourhood of Gordon Castle, near Fochabers, is pretty generally regarded as the locality of the ancient *Tuessis*, the last of the Itinerary stations which we have to notice. In that, the north-east corner of Banffshire, there exists, half-a-mile from the ruined church of Bellie, the vestiges of what seems to have been a Roman stronghold, of a secondary class. When in a more perfect state than now, its area was found to measure 888 by 333 feet; in form it was nearly rectangular, and it had been defended by a single rampart and ditch. A sepulchral tumulus stood near it—apparently a British work—in which was found an urn of rude workmanship, containing ashes, and one of those not uncommon but very singular relics, a piece of polished gold, shaped something like the circular handle of a small vase, and measuring three inches in diameter.<sup>a</sup> Some years since, the fosse of this presumed station was cleared out, but nothing was found within it, except a few amulets or beads of party-coloured stone.<sup>b</sup> The next stage from *Tuessis* was *Proxorox*, already noticed as the last station of the Ninth *Iter*, and the first of the Tenth.

We have now briefly to refer to the “kingdom” of Fife; hitherto left, as it were, in the back-ground, from the reader’s attention having been occupied with the stations which are taken notice of in the Itinerary tables. According to Sir Robert Sibbald, who was a native of the district, the county of Fife has been peculiarly rich in the vestiges of military works and other remains, ascribed either to the progress of Roman conquest, or to the long continuance of Roman occupation. Some of these, no doubt, belonged to the once imposing ramparts of permanent fortresses—the central points, it may be, of colonial settlement—as it is far from probable that the favourably situated lands between the Firths of Forth and Tay would be left unoccupied by the Romans, while their standards were advanced beyond them into the less promising regions of Elgin and Nairn. But so little is known on the subject, that we must, with one exception, leave the Roman antiquities of Fife to be mentioned in connection with the Temporary Camps and less important forts, which form the subject of the following section.

The solitary instance in question refers to the neighbourhood of Loch-Ore, a small lake situated two miles to the south of Loch-Leven; near to which formerly stood the remains of what seems to have been a Roman station of

<sup>a</sup> Chalm. I. 129.

<sup>b</sup> N. Stat. Acc.

no inconsiderable strength.<sup>a</sup> They have now entirely disappeared; but, from what is known of their condition and appearance more than a century ago, we learn that its form had been nearly that of a square—that it had been defended by three rows of ramparts and as many ditches—that its entire circumference was upwards of two thousand feet—and that on one side of the exterior stood a circular mound, similar to those which had been thrown up to cover the gateways of the camps on Birrenswork-hill.<sup>b</sup> We are likewise informed, that, in a moss at Portmoak, not far from this station, were discovered several spear-heads of fine hardened brass.<sup>c</sup> Its position was a central one, being on the most direct route between Queensferry and the Firth of Tay, and within an easy march of the former; at which the Romans had established, it is believed, a military post, for the purpose of guarding the passage of the Forth. None of the *Itinera* pass through Fife; nor, on looking at the maps of Ptolemy and Richard, do any towns or stations, worthy of notice, appear to have existed in that peninsula. The former is, however, so frequently inaccurate as a geographer, that it is by no means an easy matter to decide on the actual position of his towns in general. His omissions too are supposed to be numerous, and his chorography of the island can, in consequence, be but partially relied upon. Richard is no doubt a better authority; but he seems to have been able to acquire a merely superficial knowledge of those parts of Roman Britain which lay at any distance from the lines of his *Itinera*. We cannot, therefore, absolutely conclude that the district of Fife was neglected by the Romans, because it appears as a comparative blank in the ancient maps of the country, or because the traces of its early civilisation have all disappeared; although, from these circumstances, we are compelled to leave it almost unnoticed.

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In concluding this necessarily brief account of what are supposed to have been the principal military stations which existed within the Roman provinces of North Britain, it may be proper to mention that there are a few Inscriptions—discovered in this part of the island, and preserved in some of our Scottish Museums—regarding which no records are preserved, nor any

<sup>a</sup> It was situated near the spot now occupied by the farm-house of Chapel.

<sup>b</sup> Gordon Itin. p. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Sibb. Hist. Inq. p. 38.

thing known beyond the simple fact of their existence. We have, from this cause, been unable to ascertain where they were found; but as they had most probably been disinterred from among the ruins of some of the *Castra Stativa*, we cannot, perhaps, have a better opportunity of introducing them than the present.

The first is in Greek characters, and occupies the upper part of a monumental stone, apparently erected to the memory of one ANTIOCHUS LYSIMACHUS. The following is an exact copy:<sup>a</sup>—

Λ Α Ι  
Α Ν Τ Ι Ο  
Χ Ι Κ Α Υ Κ Ι  
Μ Α Χ Ο Υ  
Ι Τ ° (See PLATE VI. Fig. 1.)

It is the only Greek inscription which has been met with to the north of the Tweed. We give the first letter, λ, as it appears on the original, without however being able to say for what it stands. Probably it should be ς, the old c; in which case we might read the first word *CAIUS*.

The next is a small quadrangular slab, and, like the former, of the monumental class. It is dedicated to the *DII MANES* of a native soldier, whose name cannot well be deciphered; but it would appear that he had served for twenty years in the *Centuria* or company surnamed *Vindex*, a subdivision of the ninth corps of Stipendiaries, which had been drafted from the tribe of the *Brigantes*; and that he had originally enlisted in the second cohort of the T H R, which may possibly stand for *Thraciorum*, although it seems strange to find a native of Cumberland or Yorkshire commencing his military career in a body of Thracians. With the exception of a part of the first line, the inscription is perfectly distinct, and may be read as follows:<sup>b</sup>—

D I S M M S I O V E F I V S ° F S  
, V I N D I C I S ° A N ° X ° X  
S T I P ° V I I I I N A T  
I O N I S ° B R I G A N S  
M I L I T A V I T ° I N  
C ° H ° T T H R ° (See PLATE VI. Fig. 3.)

<sup>a</sup> Now deposited in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society at Edinburgh—extreme height, 52 inches; extreme breadth, 15 inches.

<sup>b</sup> Likewise in the possession of the Scottish Antiquarian Society—size, 18½ inches by 16.

<sup>c</sup> The T H are combined in the original.

The third we have to mention is a votive altar, inscribed to the Field Deities, by *MARCUS DEC—<sup>a</sup> VOCONTICUS*, in these words:—

CAMPESTR  
SACRVM AET  
MARCVS  
DEC-----  
VOCONTIC  
V·S·L·L·M

(See PLATE VI. Fig. 2).

This altar is in good preservation, but rudely executed, and seems to belong to the third or fourth centuries. The letters of the last line indicate the usual conclusion of such dedications, *VOTUM SOLVIT LIBENTISSIME MERITO*.<sup>b</sup>

The last of those somewhat neglected specimens of Roman-British sculpture that we have to mention, is a much mutilated slab of freestone, representing in bas-relief a military figure seated upon a car, and drawn by a couple of what seem to be lions or leopards. On one arm he carries an oval shield, while the other is extended in the act of lashing forward his savage team. (See PLATE VI. Fig. 8.) From the fragment of an inscription said to have been found along with it, and which contains the word *MERCURIUS*, (See Fig. 7,) the figure in question would seem to represent the messenger of the gods subduing the fiercest of animals to his will, and hastening along the fields of earth, with perhaps some errand from on high. Unfortunately, however, it has been so much injured by the ravages of time, that little more than the general outline can now be distinguished.

This antique is preserved in the Museum at Perth. All we can learn respecting it, is that it is believed to have been found near one of the Roman camps in Strathmore; and that it had been for a long period used as a hearth-stone, with the back placed uppermost, in a cottage which stood near the place of its discovery.<sup>c</sup>

To those lettered memorials of the Roman presence among the "woods and wilds of ancient Caledon," we have to add an object of a different description, which, although of less certain origin, has been very generally regarded as a specimen of Roman workmanship. This is an ancient flagon of bronze, which was discovered, between thirty and forty years ago, in

<sup>a</sup> The rest of the name uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> It is now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and measures 26 inches in height.

<sup>c</sup> Size about 4 feet in length by 20 inches broad.

the parish of Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire.<sup>a</sup> It is twelve inches in height, of rather elegant shape, and perfectly plain, with the exception of the handle, which is ornamented with several embossed figures. In PLATE VI. (*Figs. 4 and 5,*) will be found a representation of this flagon, with a front view of the handle, on a scale sufficiently large to show the details of its embellishments. In the lower part of it, a female figure, in simple drapery, stands near a Grecian pedestal, with a bird in her hand, which bears some resemblance to an owl. Above her is seen a helmet similar to that of Minerva, and over it a naked figure, as if in the act of running, with a cloak or *toga* flowing loosely behind: surmounting all is a circular shield, with drapery suspended round it. The design is elegant and well executed, and has a decidedly classic appearance.

In addition to the preceding, we might give a copious list of other remains—such as spear-heads, pieces of armour, and swords—all of bronze—which have been discovered in various parts of the country, and which are currently thought to be as ancient as the period of the Roman occupation—still, as there is much room for uncertainty with regard to their particular age, we shall merely refer the reader to the spear-head and sword represented in PLATE V. (*Fig. 4,*) as fair specimens of the form of this class of weapons in general. Of the swords, in particular, a good many have been found, all bearing a striking resemblance to that given in the plate. In none do any remains of the handles exist; but the holes into which their fastenings had been inserted are still visible in several.<sup>b</sup> The Romans were not the only people of ancient Europe who made use of weapons of brass: the native Celtæ, who witnessed their arrival in this island, and the Saxons, who followed on their departure from it, were equally well acquainted with the use of that metal; and the latter, at least, must have employed it in the manufacture of warlike weapons. It is, therefore, impossible to say that they are unquestionably Roman, however desirous every genuine antiquary might be to connect these far-descended relics (for very ancient they certainly are) with the times of Agricola, of Urbicus, or of any of the other commanders who sought for fame

<sup>a</sup> Now in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; to which it was presented by the Rev. Mr. Dow, late minister of Cathcart: hence it is often erroneously mentioned as having been found at that place.

<sup>b</sup> Many of these may be seen in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society at Edinburgh.



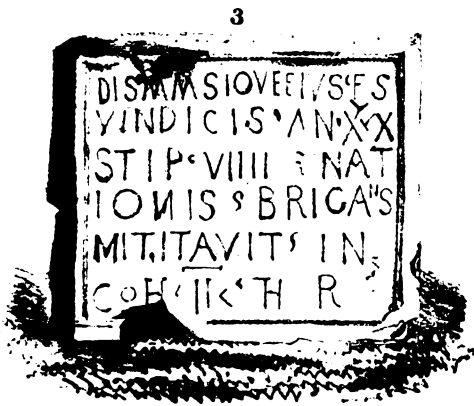
MUSEUM OF SCOTTISH ANTIQUARIES' EDINBURGH.



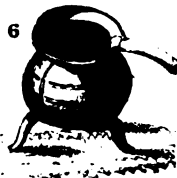
HANDLE OF BRONZE FLAGON, (ENLARGED.)



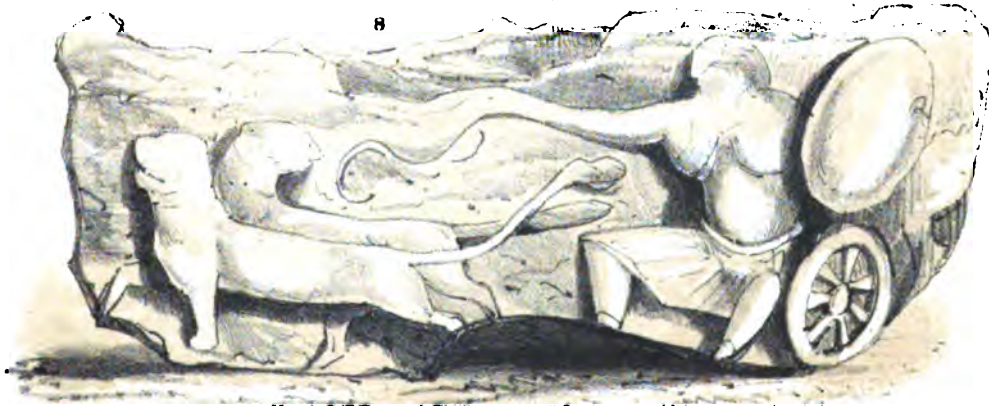
ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.



MUSEUM OF SCOTTISH ANTIQUARIES' EDINBURGH.



BRONZE FLAGON, HUNTERIAN MUSEUM, GLASGOW.



MUSEUM AT PERTH.

11

and fortune among the inhospitable scenes of those distant climes, where, as Horace sung—

“ ——— belluorum, qui remotis  
Obstrepat, Oceanus Britannis.”<sup>a</sup>

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### SECTION III.

#### TEMPORARY CAMPS AND MINOR PORTS.

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It is not our purpose, in entering upon this division of the subject, to compile a general list of all the military works existing throughout Scotland which have received the name of Roman camps. The adoption of such a course would lead us into a much wider field of inquiry than the prescribed limits of the volume will admit of; and as it would likewise involve a great deal of mere conjecture, on matters of very doubtful interest, we shall perhaps best consult the wishes of the reader, by confining our observations to such only among the ancient encampments in Scotland as are believed to be unquestionably of Roman origin, and to which the records of former discovery, or the circumstance of existing preservation, impart a claim to our especial notice. A few remarks, however, on the subject of Roman field-castrametation in general, may not be amiss, before proceeding to refer to the examples of its practice which continue to exist in this part of the island.

From the earliest periods of their history, it seems to have been the custom of the Romans to entrench their armies in the field. The quartering of their troops in towns or villages was a habit foreign to their ideas of well-ordered discipline; and accordingly, wherever a Roman force was stationed beyond the gates of its usual winter quarters, there arose upon the open plain the lines of its quickly constructed encampment, and the little city of tents that lay sheltered within its walls. The *Castra Aestiva*, or Summer Camps, were, like their winter stations, invariably of a square or oblong form—differing in this respect from the field-works of the Greeks—which were of

<sup>a</sup> (*Cor. Lib. IV. c. xiv.*)—"The monster-peopled ocean storms  
On Britain, far removed."—*Camd.*



any shape best adapted to the nature of the ground they occupied,<sup>a</sup> as well as from those constructed by the Celtic inhabitants of Europe, who clung to the oval or the circular form. They varied, of course, in size, in proportion to the number of men to be accommodated within their bounds; and in the strength of their defences, according to the proximity of an enemy, or to the length of time during which they might be intended to be occupied.

It was of no moment, however, in the ordinary construction and arrangement of the camp, whether a Roman army might have to halt for a single night or for a longer period. In either case, the greatest attention was bestowed on the proper measurement of the ground, on the systematic formation of the ramparts, and on the exact disposal of each arm of the force in its allotted place. When, for instance, the day's march was at a close, and the welcome signal of recall had sounded in the ears of the tired *Velites*, who so often led the van of a legionary army, it was the duty of certain officers, detached upon that particular service, to advance before the troops, in order to select a proper site for their intended camp. This was invariably done with all possible care, and the signal of its having been accomplished was the planting of a small white flag, which was left flying on the spot chosen for the position of the general's quarters. From this point, as the base of their operations, the proper authorities proceeded to mark off the quarters of the various legions marching in concert, or of the legions and their allies, as the case might be—distinguishing the places appointed for each body of the troops by small pennons, of a different colour from that of the commander-in-chief. They planned, at the same time, the intended direction of the two great streets or thoroughfares of the camp; and, in a word, prescribed the proper form of its entire arrangements. Meantime, if in an enemy's country, the assembled forces were divided into two parties; the one of which continued under arms, while the other proceeded to excavate the trenches and to form the necessary ramparts. In ordinary cases those ramparts were simply composed of the earth thrown out of the ditches, strengthened as they rose by sods of turf; sometimes, however, when an army halted in a well wooded district, it was the practice to form their defences by a double basket-work of thick stakes interwoven with branches of trees; the interstices being filled up with the loose earth thrown from the *fossé*. On the top of the *vallum*, in

<sup>a</sup> v. Roy, p. 41.

whatever manner formed, were planted palisades, which, according to Polybius, the Roman soldiers were accustomed to carry with them on the march; and thus, with well concerted order, and by rapid degrees, the work of entrenchment became complete. The tents of the *Prætorium*, of the Tribunes and Præfects, of every legion and of every cohort, were pitched in their appointed places; the requisite number of guards were told off to their several stations, and, while the steam of their camp-kettles rose upon the evening air, the travel-worn *centuriæ* laid down the panoply of war, and “welcomed rest.”<sup>a</sup>

When such field-works were constructed to be occupied merely for a single night, the ditch was generally formed about eight feet broad by six feet deep, with a parapet behind it, from four to five feet in height; but when on any occasion it afterwards became necessary for an army to continue for some time in the same quarters, the original defences were no doubt considerably augmented; for the two-fold purpose, perhaps, of giving employment to the soldiery, and of adding to the security of their position. To such causes may no doubt be ascribed the great appearance of strength which still is, or was till very recently, exhibited in many of the summer camps established by the Romans in Scotland; where both the size of the ditch and the height of the rampart must have greatly exceeded the dimensions above stated. The long continuance of an army in any particular place would likewise give rise to the construction of exploratory posts, and various other outworks, around their encampment; this one designed, perhaps, to overlook some neighbouring valley; that, to cover the ford of an adjacent river; and a third, to guard some weaker portion of the lines. Hence the frequency of their traces around the remains of those of our temporary camps which appear to have been fortified with the greatest care.

In measuring off the ground on which their forces were to encamp, it was the particular study of the Roman officers to do so in exact accordance with the numbers present; so that the men should neither be too much crowded together, nor be exposed to the necessity of mounting guard along a greater extent of rampart than was actually required. Knowing that such was the case, it would be an easy matter to determine the force of the several Roman divisions which had marched of old through this portion of the island, were we but certain that the same system had been followed by all

<sup>a</sup> v. Duncan's Treat. on Rom. Art of War, chap. VI.—and Roy, chap. II.

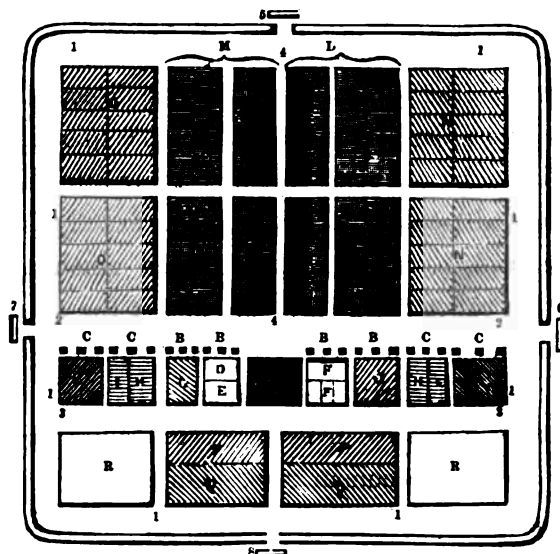
of them in the internal arrangement of their encampments. It appears, however, that different methods prevailed at different periods, and there will always, in consequence, remain much field for conjecture, in attempting, from a knowledge of their size, to decide on the number of troops which had quartered within the *valla* of our Scottish camps. Still, wherever it may seem possible—from the shape, position of the gates, or other circumstances—to decide in favour of any particular system, the difficulty will, in a great degree, be removed; for if we could but once be certain of the method that had been pursued in the disposition of the forces within them, we should find no very great difficulty in ascertaining their numbers.

We learn that, previous to the time of their wars with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the Romans paid little attention to any particular system in the encampment of their troops. The entrenchment of their armies was certainly a common practice from the earliest periods of their history; while the form and construction of their field-works seem to have always commanded a due share of attention; but it remained for the Consul Curius, about the year 276, B.C. to introduce those improvements which led to that perfect order of arrangement, in the distribution of the Legions, so fully described in the writings of Polybius.\*

According to all that is known on the subject, the Polybian system of Castrametation was that which flourished throughout the palmiest ages of Rome—the era of the Commonwealth, and the earlier times of the Empire. Its method of placing the troops, and of regulating the general details of the camp, was the most simple and well-ordered that we know of—allowing abundance of room for the proper comfort of the soldiery, and so distributing each separate division of horse and foot, that the whole could be assembled for action with the least possible confusion or delay,—ready either to repel any sudden attack upon their walls, or to sally, without disorder, into the open field. In order to give some idea of the arrangements alluded to, we here introduce a general plan of what is called the Polybian Camp of a Roman Consular Army, consisting of two Roman Legions, each containing 4200 foot

\* v. Supp. to Livy, B. XIV. c. xxxii. and B. XXXI. c. xxxiv.

and 300 horse—and of two bodies of allies, each numbering 4200 foot and 900 horse—forming in all a force of 19,200 men.\*



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| 1 Open space between the troops and the ramparts.                             | G Select cavalry of the Allies, forming the Consular Guard.        |
| 2 The <i>principia</i> or principal street.                                   | H <i>Evocati</i> and Volunteer Horse.                              |
| 3 A street in the rear of the <i>Prætorium</i> .                              | I <i>Evocati</i> and Volunteer Foot.                               |
| 4 Central street in front of the <i>Prætorium</i> .                           | K Select Foot of the Allies, forming the Consular Guard.           |
| 5 Prætorian or Quæstorian Gate.   | L 1st Roman Legion.  |
| 6 Right principal Gate.   | M 2d Roman Legion.   |
| 7 Left principal Gate.  | N Right wing of the Allies.  |
| 8 Decuman Gate.   | O Left wing of the Allies.   |
| A The <i>Prætorium</i> or General's quarter.                                  | P Extraordinary Horse of the Allies, facing the <i>Prætorium</i> . |
| B Tents of the 12 Tribunes.   | Q Extraordinary Foot of the Allies, facing the Decuman Gate.       |
| C Tents of the 12 Præfects of the Allies.                                     | R Quarters reserved for strangers, &c.                             |
| D Quarters of the Legates.  |  |
| E Market-place.   |  |
| F Quarters of the Quæstor, and places for depositing the Commissariat stores. |  |

This camp was a regular square of  $2077\frac{1}{2}$  English feet, protected by a palisaded rampart and ditch, and having four gateways, covered by the usual traverses, thrown up at a short distance in front of their position. Immediately within the rampart there was left, as will be observed, an open space which surrounded the inclosure, and separated the outer columns of the troops 200 feet from the entrenchment,—placing them, in some degree, beyond

\* v. Roy, Pl. IV. Under the Empire, the establishment of the legion was much increased.

the reach of any missiles which might be thrown from without, and affording, at the same time, a convenient place for their muster and exercise.<sup>a</sup> Into this vacant ground opened all the chief thoroughfares of the camp; the two which divided it from right to left, as well as most of those which separated the various divisions of the forces in an opposite direction. The General's quarter, or *Prætorium*, a square of 200 feet, usually occupied the highest position within the lines; its situation being the first thing attended to, in deciding upon their form and direction. It was placed exactly in the centre with regard to the side walls of the camp, but stood much nearer to the rear entrance than to that called the *Prætorian* gate, at the opposite side. From this point, the Commander-in-Chief overlooked, in his front, the principal portion of the assembled forces; while the security of his own position was amply provided for by the two divisions of the allies, which were posted between his tent and the Decuman gate. On either side of the *Prætorium* were situated the quarters of the Tribunes and Præfects, and of the Consular Guard, with other select troops; in front of which lay the principal street, a spacious thoroughfare, 100 feet wide, extending between the two lateral entrances of the camp. Beyond this street were the tents of the Roman legions,<sup>b</sup> and of the two principal bodies of the allies—the whole arranged in ten separate divisions—the Roman cavalry being placed towards the centre in a line with the *Prætorium*, with the Legionary foot upon each flank, and, the auxiliary forces quartered beyond them, in nearest proximity to the ramparts on either hand. As the whole arrangement will be easily understood by a reference to the plan, it is unnecessary to dilate upon the subject.

Looking to the general distribution of the troops, it will be observed that the cavalry was everywhere quartered in the most central and best protected situations, and that the infantry was stationed nearest to the walls. At the same time, the great majority of the horse were so placed, that, in case of need, they could readily defile through the *Prætorian* gate, without causing any derangement in the other divisions around them.<sup>c</sup>

Such was the camp of what is termed a single Consular army—that is,

<sup>a</sup> Within this *inter-wallum* were placed the cattle and whatever was taken from the enemy—*Polyb.*

<sup>b</sup> Livy states that the tents were formed of skins, extended by means of ropes.

<sup>c</sup> v. Polybius, Lib. VI.—Duncan's Treatise, and Roy, *passim*.

where the troops of one Consul were assembled only—as it existed in the time of the Republic. We select it to exemplify the then-existing system of castrametation, as nearly as its particular features can now be ascertained. Whatever was the number of men to be encamped, the basis of the plan adopted was always the same, although both size and shape varied according to circumstances. When it happened, for instance, that two Consular armies were to be quartered together, the length of the camp was doubled—its breadth continuing unchanged, and the entire arrangements already mentioned were simply repeated—the rear divisions of the forces being placed in juxtaposition to each other, with the two *Prætoria*, as it were, back to back, and the legions facing beyond them in opposite directions: in this case the number of the side gates were necessarily increased, giving the encampment six in all. A single legion, without allies, appears to have occupied an area of about 1000 feet square, and, with its usual complement of auxiliaries, an inclosure measuring nearly 1100 by 2000 feet.<sup>a</sup> The distribution of the troops was made upon a similar principle in both—such as was represented in the Consular camps upon a more extended scale.

It cannot be determined how long the Polybian system continued to be followed by the Roman armies. We only know that a very different method had been adopted when Hyginus wrote upon the subject—some time during the first half of the second century.<sup>b</sup> By that period a great change had occurred, not only in the distribution of the troops, but likewise in the relative proportion between the size of their camps and the number of men which they were made to contain. A complex and crowded arrangement had, in fact, succeeded to the simple order which prevailed in the days of Scipio, of Cæsar, perhaps even of Agricola,<sup>c</sup> and the summer quarters of the legions no longer presented that open and spacious appearance which had been the admiration of the military world in an earlier age.

We should probably detain the reader to little purpose, were we to enter into a minute description of the Hyginian camp, with its infinite subdivisions of horse and foot, Romans and allies, in every variety of sections. Next to the more intricate form of internal arrangement which distinguished it from

<sup>a</sup> v. Roy, Pl. V.

<sup>b</sup> “Hygini Gromatici de Castrametatione Liber,” edit. by Schelius—Amsterdam, 1660.

<sup>c</sup> v. Roy, 191.

that of Polybius, its principal distinction consisted in the comparative extent of ground allotted for the location of the troops. Taking, for example, our plan of the single Consular Camp, we have there a square of nearly 2080 feet allotted to a force of 19,200 men; now when it is mentioned, that, within an area of the same superficial extent, Hyginus finds room for an army of nearly 50,000,<sup>a</sup> we can easily conceive how much more the quarters of the soldiery must have been crowded together in the reign of Hadrian than in those earlier times, when the emblems of the Republic were carried with them to the field. The square form was never adopted in the system of Hyginus: he lays it down, indeed, as a primary rule, that the area of a camp should always, if possible, be one-third longer than it was broad. This could not, of course, from the nature of the ground, be always implicitly followed; neither perhaps was it possible, for the same reason, to complete the regular square of Polybius on every occasion, while his system was in practice. We can have no doubt, however, but that the leading principles of each were acted upon, in their several eras, as near as circumstances would allow; hence, to the dabbler in those "old world" pursuits, a knowledge of such particulars is not without its value. As regards the number and position of their gates, no very clear distinction can be made between the Polybian and the Hyginian camp; that is, when we look to the mere extent of ground which they respectively occupied; but if we take into consideration the number of men quartered within the same space in each, then the more ancient method will appear to have been, in this respect, the most liberally supplied.<sup>b</sup> The rectilinear traverses which covered the gateways are believed to characterise the earlier, and those which are semicircular or round, the later systems of castrametation; possibly, in such minor details, considerable latitude was allowed to the officers employed; but as Hyginus recommends them to be of a semicircular shape, we may suppose this to have been the prevailing form in the age when he wrote. His ditch was five feet wide at the surface, and three feet deep; his rampart six feet high and eight broad at the base, diminishing towards the top, and having a raised platform within, on which the sentry walked his rounds—particulars which, however minutely known, can throw no light as to the

<sup>a</sup> v. Roy, 189.

<sup>b</sup> The double Consular camp of Polybius measured, for instance, some 2080 by 4000 feet, was calculated to accommodate 38,400 men, and had six gates. A Hyginian camp, of the same extent, had also six gates; but it contained above double the number of inmates.

period of their construction on the crumbling remains of the camps in North Britain.<sup>a</sup>

The majority of those changes which were introduced into the military system of Rome, as the years of empire gathered upon her "seven hills," was no doubt the natural consequence of that infusion of foreign elements into her armies which became so universally called for by the extension of her territorial limits, and by the gradual decline of her proper national spirit. In the days of the Republic, the employment of mercenary bands was a thing very uncommon. The legions at that period took the field accompanied by their allies—the citizens in general of adjacent states; who fought on national grounds beneath the standard of the Roman consul, and who were, in short, the unpaid levies of a friendly power. By the middle of the second century, everything in this respect wore quite a different aspect. The minor nations of civilised Europe had been all submerged as independent states within the rapacious vortex of Roman ambition; and the whole western world lay, as it were, in the broad light and shadow of Roman supremacy on the one hand and of barbarian independence on the other. Meantime the wealth of conquered nations flowing towards the centre of dominion had done much to enervate the martial character of the whole Italian race. Not that the valour of the Roman soldiers had declined; for, at a distance from the seductions of luxury, they still maintained upon the frontiers of the empire the ancient glory of their country; but they were recruited with a gradually diminishing and insufficient spirit from among the Latin youth: hence, with every fresh accession of territory which their arms achieved, the Imperial Government was under the necessity of increasing their numbers by the enrolment of mercenary bands, drafted from among the Batavians, Dacians, Gauls, and other nations, who were not unwilling to serve in the pay of the conquerors.<sup>b</sup>

It is generally believed that the introduction of those foreign levies was the principal cause which led to the alterations we have referred to in the Roman system of castrametation. The assembling together of troops from

<sup>a</sup> c. On the subject generally, *Vegetius, De Re Militari*; Sir Jas. Turner's *Pallas Armata*; and the authorities formerly quoted.

<sup>b</sup> "Ainsi," says Montesquieu, "ils établissent des usages toutes contraires à ceux qui les avoient rendus maîtres de tout: et comme autrefois leur politique constante fut de réserver l'art militaire et d'en priver tous leurs voisins, ils le détruisoient pour lors chez eux, et l'établissent chez les autres."



so many separate nations led, no doubt, to a great increase in the requisite number of officers, and consequently to such a subdivision of command, that the old simplicity of arrangement could no longer be continued. Besides, the confidence existing in earlier times could not, perhaps, be latterly reposed in the courage or fidelity of every division that pitched its tents under the leader's eye: hence, probably, the reason that, on the Hyginian method, the best troops—the Roman cohorts—were quartered nearest to the walls, and the auxiliaries distributed in numerous detached sections within the body of the camp.<sup>a</sup> As, however, we shall have occasion to refer to some additional details on this subject in the course of the present section, it may here be merely remarked, that the alterations which took place in the Roman systems of encampment were most probably adopted only by slow degrees, and in accordance with those other changes in the conduct of her military affairs which had marked the decline of that simplicity—at once the glory and the safeguard of ancient Rome. It is scarcely possible, therefore, to lay down any fixed rules, as regards the precise plans of encampment, practised during the different periods of the Roman occupation of Britain; although, in a few cases, appearances may, in some measure, lead us to connect the remains of certain of our Scottish camps with one or other of the systems mentioned; at all events, the interest of a visit to their dilapidated ramparts will certainly not be diminished by recalling to mind a few particulars, in regard to the *minutiæ* of Roman castrametation, which have been handed down to us by ancient authors; and which come forward, as it were, to restore the features of their pristine existence to the shapeless mounds before us, and to present us with a view of the tented city as it lay within the walls.

In entering upon a detailed account of the temporary camps of the Romans which have been discovered in Scotland, we cannot perhaps do better than follow a similar course to that pursued in the preceding section of the volume, when directing the reader's attention to the localities of the permanent military stations. We begin, accordingly, with that part of the country *quæ Hiberniam aspicit*, and this finds us again in the districts of Galloway, the father-land of the Selgovian and Novantane tribes. It is exceedingly probable, as elsewhere stated,<sup>b</sup> that this was the quarter through which the forces of Agricola fought their way in the fifth summer of his command; nor

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 183.

<sup>b</sup> v. *Hist. Trans.* p. 60.

is it unlikely that the presence of the legions had in subsequent times been sometimes found necessary there, before the warlike natives had been effectually compelled to respect the tranquillity of the Roman province. To judge, indeed, by the numerous remains of British entrenchments which exist in this district, it is very apparent that its people had been more than once compelled to take refuge on their hill-tops before the progress of invasion: still, although we might on that account have expected the contrary, the vestiges of Roman camps have never in modern times been numerous to the westward of the Nith. The only remains of the kind, which we find mentioned as worthy of particular notice, are the traces of some ancient works in the neighbourhood of Kirkcudbright, which are in general ascribed to the era of the Roman invasion. These comprehend the remains of three quadrangular encampments—the first situated at Whinny-Ligate, about two miles to the eastward of the town—the second on the farm of Bombie, a mile and a half more to the south; and the third near Drummorie Castle, at the distance of a mile from the Solway Firth.<sup>a</sup> They were all placed in a direct line with each other, in the near vicinity of several circular camps—the supposed strongholds of the aboriginal inhabitants. From which circumstance, coupled with their peculiar position, they are believed to direct our attention to the days of Agricola, and to some of the halts he was obliged to make in the neighbourhood of the Dee, before he could expel the *Selgova* from their well fortified retreats.

The moat of Urr, a large circular camp, situated on the river of that name, some five miles N.W. of Castle-Douglas, is supposed to have been occupied, although not erected, by the Romans, from the circumstance that several Roman coins and bronze spear-heads were found within half-a-mile of it<sup>b</sup>—and that, sixty or seventy years ago, there existed close to its walls the vestiges of various outworks, apparently of Roman construction.<sup>c</sup> It is probable enough that the legions did find it convenient, at times, to pitch their tents under the protection of native walls; but it must be admitted that the evidence of their having done so in this instance is slight indeed. If the army of Agricola, or that of any other Roman general, did actually

<sup>a</sup> Stat. Ac. XI. xxiv.—See Map of N. Brit. Part I.

<sup>b</sup> At the mill of Buittle. The coins of the reigns of Tiberius, Hadrian, and Commodus.

<sup>c</sup> Chalm. Caled. I. p. 105.

penetrate the district of Galloway, it must have left numerous traces behind it of the entrenchments which it had formed, and who can tell whether many such remains may not, in former times, have existed there? Their absence at the present day does not disprove the belief of Agricola's having landed on the shores of the Solway, and subsequently marched through the district of Galloway; as there is an equal probability that time may have obliterated the traces of his march, as that they should have outlived the many changes which the "destroyer" brings about. Nor can the sceptic in such matters point with confident effect to the numerous hill-forts of the Celtic tribes, and ask—"if those remain, why not the Roman works?" An answer to the question may be easily found, in looking to the relative positions occupied by the two classes of camps throughout the country in general. The British posts are all placed upon the tops of heights, which, in the majority of instances, the plough never reaches; the Roman field-works are, on the contrary, situated, with few exceptions, on level ground, exposed to the full current of agrarian improvement, and only preserved by accident where they still exist; hence the paucity of their number, when compared with what are believed to be the more ancient entrenchments of the primitive Britons.\*

The Temporary Camps, like the permanent stations of the Romans, are, in general, to be met with in the neighbourhood of their military ways. When not called upon to follow an enemy into the depths of the forests, the march of the legions was always, of course, along the beaten track, and their encampments were formed at as small a distance from it as the nature of the country would allow. In pursuing these inquiries, we are again, therefore, led into the valleys of the Nith and Annan; along which branched the Roman causeway, from Birrens to Carstairs.<sup>b</sup> We have elsewhere alluded to the singular remains on Birrenswork-Hill. Our next resting-place is in the neighbourhood of Lockerby, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles distance from them on the north-west. This quiet little town occupies the centre of a district which seems to have been the scene of much warlike contention in the days of old. We have accounts of no less than four British and three Roman camps, which still

\* Fragments of ancient weapons, sepulchral urns, &c. have been found in various places within the counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigton—none of them, however, possessed of any peculiarity worthy of notice. Mr. Chalmers states, that besides those already mentioned, a Roman camp existed near Caerlaverock Castle, on the estuary of the Nith, and that it was placed opposite to a British fort—Caled. I. p. 105.

<sup>b</sup> v. Map of N. Brit. Part I.

exist in its immediate vicinity. The traces of some of them are, indeed, rather indistinct; but still not altogether effaced. The largest of the Roman encampments was carefully surveyed by General Roy, in the year 1769; at which period one of the sides, with its two gates and their epaulments, was almost entire, while some portions of the ramparts at each extremity were also perceptible. The nearest of these *valla* stood about three quarters of a mile to the westward of Lockerby, on one of the declivities of Torwood Moor, and a short way to the north of the present Turnmuir Mill.<sup>a</sup> From what then remained of its ramparts, this camp appears to have been a large oblong inclosure, furnished with six gateways, and measuring nearly 600 by 400 yards. According to the Polybian system, it would have contained about ten or eleven thousand men: in shape, however, it accorded exactly with the form recommended by Hyginus—its length being one-third greater than its breadth; but, in a camp of the size, its numerous gates and straight traverses incline us to suppose that it had not been constructed when his method was in general use. Roy believed it to have been raised by the forces of Agricola, and, in his opinion, it formed the first of a chain which shall be taken notice of as we proceed.<sup>b</sup>

A smaller field-work may be seen near the hamlet of Bengall,<sup>c</sup> about two miles to the south-west of Lockerby. It stands upon a rising ground in front of another hill, on the summit of which are the vestiges of a circular native stronghold; and between the two is situated the farm-house of Castle-hill. Pieces of ancient armour, and of warlike weapons, have been frequently found in both encampments, and, within a cairn on the intervening moss, was discovered the skeleton of a man, with part of his accoutrements remaining undecayed; in particular, a pair of sandals curiously worked, and fastened with leathern thongs.<sup>d</sup> The third post established in this quarter by the invaders of the Selgovæ, of which the traces have not yet disappeared, is placed on the Gallaberry-hill, and overlooks the level ground at the confluence of the rivers Dryfe and Annan. The native strength of this position was much superior to the majority of those places which are found

<sup>a</sup> A small *Castellum*, not quite 100 feet square, is said to have stood 1000 feet distant from the S.E. trenches of this camp.

<sup>b</sup> v. Roy, p. 61.

<sup>c</sup> "The Hill of the Gauls." See Sinc. Stat. Acc. IX. p. 425.

<sup>d</sup> These sandals were presented to the Oxford Museum—Sinc. Stat. Acc.

occupied by the remains of Roman camps. In war, the aggressor seldom betakes himself to the "high places" in search of safety: it is his system to be ever on the alert, and fully prepared for action. With the Romans, a convenient rather than an impregnable situation was most to be desired,—knowing, as these invaders did, that their real security sprung from within their own ranks. The military way conducted towards this camp on Galla-berry-hill, and separated near it into two branches, as shall be afterwards more particularly noticed.

Advancing from the above spot up the valley of the Annan,<sup>a</sup> we reach, at the distance of about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the site of the large camp near Lockerby, a farm-house called Tatus-holm, situated on the bank of the river, within a mile of the church of Kirkpatrick Juxta. Near it are the dilapidated remains of what has been a Roman *Castellum*, about two hundred feet square. Roy states that he observed, a short way to the east of it, the corner ramparts of what had most probably been a camp of a similar size with that on Torwood Moor; and he supposes this spot to have been the next halting-place of Agricola, on his march to the North.<sup>b</sup> The distance between the two is just such as might have been traversed by his army in the course of a single day, through a somewhat difficult country.<sup>c</sup> Its vestiges were, however, too few to enable Roy to determine, with any degree of accuracy, what might have been its original size.

The Rev. Mr. Scott, formerly minister of the parish, seems to have taken no little interest in the antiquities of his neighbourhood. The Roman camp did not, of course, escape his attention; and, not satisfied with a mere superficial inspection of its walls, he made repeated excavations within it, in the hope of discovering some relics of its former occupants; but the only objects of interest which he met with were a few pieces of ancient pottery of a very coarse description.<sup>d</sup> At the distance of a few miles to the north of Tatus-holm, on the border of Moffat parish, and near the track of the Military Way, there was found a semicircular piece of gold, from three to four inches in length, ornamented on the exterior edge with a raised border, on which

<sup>a</sup> See Map of N. Brit. Part I. for a view of this division of the Roman roads near Galla-berry-hill. We now follow the most easterly line, and shall presently take notice of the forts upon the other.

<sup>b</sup> P. 61.

<sup>c</sup> The ordinary march of the Legions was twenty miles a-day—Duncan's Disc. p. 153.

<sup>d</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acc. IV. p. 522.

was legible the following inscription:—IOV. AVG. VOT. XX.—possibly meant to signify “*JOVIANO AUGUSTO VOTA VICENNALIA*.”

If Roy's surmise as to the former existence of a large camp in this locality be correct, the circumstance of its having had a smaller post beside it, as was the case with that on Torwood-moor, makes it highly probable that both works had been formed on the same plan—and, may we add—by the same hands.

We meet with nothing else deserving of notice, on this division of the Roman Way, until it again meets, at Crawford Castle, with the branch which diverged to the westward at Gallaberry-hill. A small *Castellum* is said, indeed, to have formerly stood at a place called Little Clyde,<sup>a</sup> very near the source of that river. Some larger camps, apparently Roman, have likewise been traced in the parish of Crawford<sup>b</sup>—one on Boadsberry-hill, and another on the farm of White-camp;<sup>c</sup> but, as little or nothing can farther be said about them, we may now proceed to take a cursory view of the few military works which are to be seen upon the line of the branch-road already mentioned. The first of these is named Wood, or Woody Castle. It stands about two miles due west of the Gallaberry-hill, and rather more than half a mile N.W. from the town of Lochmaben. Although Wood-Castle has been very generally regarded as a Roman post, we question much if this opinion be correct, as it bears no resemblance to any other work ascribed to the labours of the legionary soldier—being of a round form, with a few irregular out-works projecting in front of the ramparts. It was originally perhaps a fort of the *Selgovæ* Britons, which some Roman detachment may have occupied, on account of its great strength and its vicinity to the military road. The only thing found in its neighbourhood, which has any connection with our subject, is a spear-head which was fished out of the Castle Loch about ten years ago. It was made of brass, and was thought to resemble the top of the Roman *Pilum*.<sup>d</sup>

Near Amisfield House, four miles to the west of Wood-Castle, may be seen the remains of a small military post, nearly square, which has all the appearance of having been a Roman fort;<sup>e</sup> and twelve miles farther to the north-west, on the banks of the Nith, not far from Drumlanrig, stand the nearly obliterated ruins of Tibber's Castle, which had been built, it is said, on

<sup>a</sup> Roy, 104.

<sup>b</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Crawf. P.

<sup>c</sup> Near Tweedsmuir.

<sup>d</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Lochmaben P.

<sup>e</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acc. Tinwald P.

the site of a Roman stronghold.<sup>a</sup> This ancient fortalice has become famous in tradition as the scene of one of Wallace's exploits against a party of king Edward's followers, whom he drove from its walls by the combined aid of stratagem and of his own stalwart arm. Numerous relics have been found in its neighbourhood,<sup>b</sup> but none of them that can be said, with any degree of certainty, to belong to a more remote age than that which acknowledged the prowess of those worthies:—

“Sir John the Graham, the kingly Bruce,  
And William of Elderslie.”

Advancing from Tibber's Castle by the road to Clydesdale, we reach the vestiges of a quadrangular camp, situated in a mountain pass, at the distance of a mile beyond the village of Durisdeer.<sup>c</sup> This has evidently been a post of the Romans, established to protect their western line of communication, which, at this place, enters what must anciently have been a very wild and rugged district. Its vestiges are by no means very distinct; but the general form of the work can be tolerably well distinguished. From Durisdeer to the village of Crawford, in Lanarkshire, near to which the two *Vix* united, no traces of any Roman entrenchments have been discovered. Roy expected to find the remains of a camp somewhere about the ruins of Crawford Castle, but was disappointed. It is, however, exceedingly probable that the Romans were possessed of a military post near to this junction of the two roads. The name of the rivulet, “Camps' Water,” which here falls into the infant Clyde, may, perhaps, be thought to favour this opinion. But, with the exception of those formerly mentioned, no traces of Roman fortification have, we believe, been met with in the south of Lanarkshire, until we reach the spot where the ancient causeway enters the parish of Lamington. Between this point and the town of Biggar, a great number of old encampments remain in what may be called a fair state of preservation. Most of them are of a circular form; but some few are square or oblong, and have all the appearance of Roman *Castella*. Of these we may notice, for instance, one at Whitehill, at the north-

<sup>a</sup> Gordon Itin. 19—Chalm. I. 154. Many are inclined to believe that the name has some connection with that of the Emperor Tiberius—no great honour to the place!—and one by no means likely to have been paid, long after his death, to the tyrant of Capræ. The word is more probably of Gaelic derivation, as we find it made use of in other cases: for instance, in Tibbermuir.

<sup>b</sup> Stat. Acc. Penpont P.

<sup>c</sup> Roy (p. 105), who mistakes the position of Tibber's Castle—v. Chalm. I. p. 154.

east extremity of Lamington parish. Its area measures 70 by 40 yards, and is surrounded by a ditch 15 feet wide. Near it are two others, somewhat similar, but smaller in size; while another oblong fort is to be seen at Hartside, in the same parish. Indeed, from all that can be observed, this seems to have been a well-defended district, both under its Celtic and Roman occupants.<sup>a</sup>

At Biggar the Romans are supposed to have had also a station. Roy conjectures that it had been a mere redoubt or post of observation, situated on the top of the Moat—an artificial hillock at the west end of the town.<sup>b</sup> The neighbourhood abounds with the remains of ancient fortifications; but most of them are apparently British works, so that little or nothing can be brought forward to prove that Biggar was a Roman station, except we attach some weight to the circumstance that the Military Way passed near it, and that various Roman coins have been found within the place.<sup>c</sup>

Between seven and eight miles below Biggar was situated the post at Corbiehall, already alluded to among the permanent stations. From this spot a walk of two miles conducts us to the ground where stood the extensive entrenchments of what was known as “Cleghorn Camp.” The bridge of Cleghorn crosses the river Mouse, at the distance of two miles from Lanark, on the road to Edinburgh by Midcalder. On the rising ground, half a mile beyond it to the right, where all is now cultivated land, was situated the camp referred to. At the present day scarcely one solitary vestige of its ramparts remains; but, looking along its site at a time when the crops have not yet appeared above the surface, the line of its ditches can be distinguished in several places, owing to the earth with which they have been filled becoming much sooner dry, and consequently lighter in colour than the other parts of the field.

When Roy examined this camp in 1764, a part of all its four sides remained

<sup>a</sup> See N. Stat. Acc. of Wandell and Lamington, Pp.—Sinc. Stat. Acc. VI. 557.

<sup>b</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 104—Gord. Itin. p. 115—Roy, p. 104.

<sup>c</sup> A few years ago, when the Cross-know, a small eminence in the middle of the town, was removed, a gold coin of Vespasian was found in excellent preservation. Two vessels of bronze, evidently of Roman manufacture, were likewise discovered in a moss on the lands of Carwood, not far from Biggar: one of them holds about two quarts, and is now in the possession of Mr. Brown of Edmonstone—N. Stat. Acc. Biggar P.

Mr. Chalmers in his Map lays down various Roman camps at the great bend of the Clyde near Biggar. Any which now remain in that quarter are either round or oval, and may properly be called British works.



visible, and three of its gateways, covered by straight traverses, were perfectly distinct; the position they occupied showing that it must have originally had six in all. In size and shape it perfectly resembled the camp on Torwood-moor, near Lockerby;<sup>a</sup> and it agreed well with what is conjectured to have been the dimensions and the appearance of that at Tatus-holm: so that the three were very probably formed by the same body of men. Supposing that body to have been moving northward when those camps were constructed, and that from ten to fourteen miles was the extent of their day's march—quite enough if no road existed—we have exactly the space required for other two between Tatus-holm and Cleghorn; one of which may possibly have been placed about Little Clyde or Crawford, and the other in the vicinity of Biggar.<sup>b</sup> Regarded as so many links of a continuous chain, the three we have just mentioned have been supposed to indicate the course of Agricola's invading march. There is room for some curious speculation on the subject; for granting that a line of camps, perfectly resembling each other, did actually lie at such short intervals on the main line of approach, by a western route, to the Isthmus between the Forth and Clyde, it distinctly shows that the army which formed them did so before the country had been fully explored, and when the difficulties of the way compelled them greatly to diminish the usual length of their marches. Viewing them in this light, they seem to have been connected with the advance of Agricola's forces rather than with those of any subsequent commander. Their size was exactly such as, on the Polybian system, had been required to contain one-half of the forces with which he is supposed to have entered Scotland; and which it is conjectured he sent forward in two divisions, the one taking the western, the other the eastern side of the island.<sup>c</sup> Unfortunately, however, the two missing camps cannot be discovered, and we are left, in consequence, somewhat at fault.

In the parish of Dalziel, to the eastward of Hamilton, there formerly existed two Roman forts, or camps of a small size: one of them on a steep bank of the Clyde, near the centre of the parish, and the other overlooking the so-called Roman bridge which crosses the South Calder about a mile

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 62.

<sup>b</sup> v. Roy, p. 61.

<sup>c</sup> v. Hist. Trans. *ante* p.—and the account of the Camp at Channel Kirk, some pages forward.

and a half above the village of Bothwell; some few traces of the former still exist, but of the latter every vestige is gone.<sup>a</sup> From this point northward to the wall of Antoninus, the western part of the country seems to possess nothing else of any importance to the subject before us, excepting perhaps at one spot on Braco-farm, about three miles to the north of the Kirk of Shotts, and some half a mile south-west of the great reservoir of the Forth and Clyde navigation, where, situated upon a rising ground, are the faint traces of what seems to have been an oblong inclosure, with rounded angles, about 300 feet long by from 150 to 200 broad. Within this area are some appearances of stone foundations; but the whole is now become exceedingly indistinct. The discovery of a great number of Roman coins in its immediate vicinity, with other circumstances mentioned in our account of the Military Ways, tend, however, to throw some interest around the bleak rising ground at Braco, and that depository of long-hidden treasure, the mossy soil which meets the eye below.

In the counties of Renfrew and Ayr numerous traces of the aboriginal inhabitants are to be seen in the Moat Hill, the Druid-stone, and the Encampment-mound; but of their invaders, almost the only traces to be found which tell of the passage of the Imperial legions, while traversing the western districts of the Damnian territory, may be observed near Loudon Hill, on the borders of Ayr and Lanarkshires, where are the remains of what has apparently been a Roman camp, of an oblong form, and measuring about 540 by 340 feet. The position of two of the gates may still be observed: this post seems to have had a *Procestrium* or external work adjoining to it, such as we find was the case in many other instances. Near it there was found, in 1831, a silver coin of Augustus Cæsar, *Divi Filius*; and many other Roman medals have, from time to time, been turned up in the neighbourhood. This camp stood on the direct line of the Roman way from Carstairs.<sup>b</sup> But we may now retrace our steps towards the English border, to pick up what information can be acquired as regards the Temporary Camps which have been discovered in the eastern parts of what was the province of VALENTIA.

The number of these to be met with is not great, nor is any one of them particularly interesting, either on account of its high state of preservation, or

<sup>a</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acc. III. p. 458—N. Stat. Acc. Dalziel P.

<sup>b</sup> v. N. Stat. Acc. Galston.

owing to the discovery of relics in its neighbourhood. In the parish of Canobie, and near the line of road which led from Netherby to Castle-Over, there may be seen the vestiges of what is called a Roman fort. They occupy a rising ground, half-a-mile distant to the east of a place called Gilnockie.<sup>a</sup>

Some ancient works of a similar description formerly existed at Cartertown, three miles south-west of Castle-Over, and many others in the adjoining parish of Westerkirk.<sup>b</sup> There is every reason, indeed, to believe that the greater part of Dumfries-shire had been extensively garrisoned by the Roman troops. Similar examples of field fortification, differing from those of the early Britons or of the Border troopers, present themselves in one or two places within the county of Roxburgh: in particular, on the farm of Flight, near Clintwood Castle, in the parish of Castleton; and in a field called Stirk-rigg, in the parish of Bedrule. This last has, however, within these few years, been entirely obliterated by the plough.<sup>c</sup> Although the town of Hawick is supposed, by some authors, to stand upon the site of the ancient GADANICA, no remains, such as elsewhere point out the site of Roman stations, have ever, as far as we can learn, been discovered there.<sup>d</sup> The neighbourhood of the Eildon Hills has been already taken notice of. General Roy alludes to a small post at Pirn, on the Gala Water, situated to the N.W. of Melrose, and two miles distant from the church of Stow, as having probably been a Roman post. At Chesterknows, near Chirnside, Berwickshire, there remained, down to the middle of last century, the ramparts and ditches of an oblong encampment, which had been very strongly entrenched. But by far the most interesting of all the Roman encampments discovered in the south-east of Scotland, was that which existed many years ago at Channel Kirk, in the upper part of Lauderdale. It formed a large inclosure, capable of containing from ten to eleven thousand men, and bore, according to General Roy's account, a considerable resemblance to that at Cleghorn near Carstairs. From this circumstance, and owing to its position on the principal eastern approach to the Forth, he supposed it to have been one of those in which

<sup>a</sup> A variety of Roman coins have been found in this parish: among them an *Aureus* of Nero, which was picked up not far from the church—New Stat. Acc.—and v. Sinc. Stat. Acc. XIV. 421.

<sup>b</sup> v. Sinc. Stat. Acc.

<sup>c</sup> New Stat. Acc.

<sup>d</sup> v. "Military Ways" for an account of some minor discoveries made in this quarter.

Agricola had quartered the right division of his army when moving through the territories of the Ottadini.<sup>a</sup> The present church stands immediately to the south of the spot which had formed the area of the camp. Another, of a somewhat similar appearance, was formerly to be seen at Sheriff-hall, not far from Dalkeith;<sup>b</sup> while at the opposite extremity of the county of Edinburgh, in the parish of West Calder, there remain to the present day the vestiges of a strong military work, called Castle-Craig,<sup>c</sup> which bears in its quadrangular dykes the distinct appearance of a Roman station. Many other remains of ancient fortification are still pointed out, in the districts between Forth and Tweed, as dating from the period when the *pro-Prætors* of imperial Rome sent forth their exploring parties to penetrate the gloom of our northern woods. In general, however, these will be found to bear a much greater resemblance to the Hill-Forts of the Caledonian tribes than to what can properly be ascribed to the labours of the Roman soldier. In this particular walk—the search after the Temporary Camps of the legions—we find a somewhat richer field beyond the Forth,—in districts to which the spread of cultivation has been but slightly extended, or at least in a much smaller degree than has been the case in the more productive counties of the South.

The peninsula of Fife, under which term we include the whole country as far westward as the Ochil Hills, could boast, in earlier times, of possessing many ancient military works, supposed to be Roman; but now so completely obliterated and so much forgotten, that the very places they occupied may be generally looked for in vain.<sup>d</sup> Besides the entrenchments at Lochore, already mentioned, we learn that, until a comparatively recent period, the vestiges of two quadrangular camps could be distinctly traced at a place in the parish of Carnock which is still known by the name of Camp Farm. A British Hill-Fort was situated near them; and, in the neighbourhood, were found a considerable number of rude sepulchral urns.<sup>e</sup> In the barony of Coldrain, parish

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 61.

<sup>b</sup> v. Chalm. I. p. 143.

<sup>c</sup> Or Castle-Greg, as it is sometimes written.

<sup>d</sup> That district of the country has proved a rich field of discovery, as far as regards the antiquities of the primitive Britons and of their Druid priesthood.

<sup>e</sup> Chalm. I. p. 110—N. Stat. Acc. Fife, p. 705. With regard to the urns so frequently met with throughout Scotland, see some remarks introduced under the head of "Military Ways." Another camp was visible, many years since, at Carberly, not far from Dysart—N. S. Acc.

of Tulliebole, there was an oblong inclosure, encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, and having the usual rounded angles, which was regarded as one of those Roman *Castella* of which several seem to have existed in that district for the purpose of securing the passes of the Ochil Hills.<sup>a</sup> A similar outpost stands, more embosomed among the high grounds, on the estate of Ardargie,<sup>b</sup> in the parish of Forgandenny. It is situated on a high bank above the water of May, and is still in tolerable preservation. According to Sir Robert Sibbald,<sup>c</sup> the traces of more than one Roman camp were to be seen in his time in the neighbourhood of Burntisland, and also about Dunfermline, at which spot he states a Roman colony had been established. He refers us, besides, to various other places as the probable sites of some or other of the numerous Ports, Towns, Camps, and Watch-towers, which he believed the Romans to have constructed in Fife. Making every allowance, however, for his predilections for the conjectural, he was probably not far wrong in supposing that the country between the two Firths had been extensively colonised by the Romans, so long as they retained possession of any part of the island beyond the limits of VALENTIA. Among the miscellaneous relics discovered in Fife, may be mentioned a considerable number of sword-blades, spear-heads of bronze, and several hoards of Roman coins.<sup>d</sup> These were in general *denarii* of the earlier emperors, and similar to what have been found in other parts of Scotland.

Of the Temporary Camps lying beyond the wall of Antoninus, and to the north of the Ochils, of which notice has not yet been taken, the first claiming our attention is that at Fendoch, on the river Almond, about five miles north-east of Crieff. "It is situated upon a table-land, at the lower extremity of that remarkable pass called the Small Glen. The Almond, issuing from this defile, turns to the left, so as to form a right angle with its former course; and, with its steep bank, constitutes a natural defence to the camp on its north side. The west is protected by a marsh; the south by a small stream called the Burn of Fendoch; and the east by a natural declivity. It may

<sup>a</sup> *Sinc. Stat. Acc.* XVIII. p. 470.

<sup>b</sup> *Ardargie*, "the Height of Warriors"—*v. Chalm.* I. iii.

<sup>c</sup> See his "*Portus Coloniae*," &c.—Edin. 1711.

<sup>d</sup> *v. Stat. Acc. of Leuchars, Largo, Leslie, Markinch, Portmoak, and other parishes; and for a number of British and Danish antiquities, (erroneously called Roman,) see a work by the Rev. And. Small—8vo. Edin. 1823.*

probably contain about 45 acres of ground. Both rampart and trench are now fast disappearing under the operation of the plough. The rampart on the north side, after running for a considerable distance in nearly a straight line upon the brow of the table-land, suddenly descends into the plain below, incloses a spring of excellent water, again climbs the bank, and pursues its rectilinear course. This is the only spring within the camp. Near the side of the river there is a small elliptical inclosure, formed by turf and stone, measuring 12 paces by 8. The moor, on the east side of the camp, bears marks of having once been the arena of conflicting armies, and was covered till lately, to the extent of several acres, with cairns, under which were found some fragments of urns containing bones.”<sup>a</sup>

Fifty years ago its defences were very entire, the earthen walls being in many places twelve feet thick, and the fosse six feet deep.<sup>b</sup> Mr. Chalmers states that a vicinal or branch-way led towards it from the station at Stra-geath,<sup>c</sup> which makes it highly probable that it was occupied as a summer camp, while the Roman forces were in possession of Strathearn. Like the station at Dalginross, it commanded one of the principal openings of the Grampian range. In the vicinity of its ramparts have been found various ancient relics, such as spear-heads, camp-kettles, bridle-bits, and other articles,<sup>d</sup> probably as ancient as the era of the Antonines; but not of so decided a character as to call for more particular notice.<sup>e</sup>

The ramparts of what seems to have been a much larger camp than that just mentioned, are still partially visible near the church of Fortingal in Glen-Lyon.<sup>f</sup> They are said to have originally inclosed an area of from 80 to 90 acres; but too little is known of their former appearance to enable us to speak with any certainty as to the probable period of their construction, or to attempt a comparison between them and other works of the same kind still existing in Scotland. Tradition has, from the earliest times, bestowed upon that spot the name of “the Roman Camp;” a name which, in the opinion of our most eminent antiquaries, has not been improperly applied. The river Lyon, which

<sup>a</sup> v. Mr. Lawrie’s excellent description, &c. of the parish of Monzie—N. Stat. Acc. Perthshire, p. 273.      <sup>b</sup> Sinc. Stat. Acc. XV. p. 256.      <sup>c</sup> Caled. I. p. 146.

<sup>d</sup> v. Mr. Lawrie’s account, before quoted.

<sup>e</sup> We cannot be certain even of the brass weapons being Roman, as the Danes and Saxons are believed to have had many formed of the same metal—v. Gord. Itin. p. 178.

<sup>f</sup> N. Stat. Acc.

now sweeps along the south of its position, is believed to have anciently flowed on the opposite side. The presumed site of the *Prætorian* quarter is still pointed out, where a considerable ditch seems to have inclosed an interior portion of the camp; from which circumstance we may conclude that those works had not been of a merely temporary nature, but of a strength corresponding to the dangers of a hostile neighbourhood, and to the fear of surprise experienced by the invading forces on their pitching their tents within the shadow of the "cloud-girt" Schihallion. If the camp at Fortingal<sup>a</sup> be a work of the Romans, it possesses a more than common interest, from standing so far as it does within the presumed limits of the Caledonian forest, and from being the most northerly of their encampments which have been discovered in the interior of the country. From its position, indeed—so far beyond the limits which the troops of Agricola or of Urbicus are supposed to have reached—may we not be led, without much improbability, to assume that it marks the resting place of a portion of that giant-army with which the emperor Severus penetrated the fastnesses of the North, in his vain attempt to subvert the liberties of the Caledonian race? Not far from this camp are some few remains of a large Druidical temple, and throughout the parish of Fortingal a great many similar foundations of huge masses of stone, ascribed by current tradition to Fingal and his heroes. Glen-Lyon, therefore, may long have served as a place of retreat to the people of Strathearn, or of other districts, who sought a settlement in what is now known as the country of Breadalbane, when driven into the mountains by the advance of Urbicus.<sup>b</sup> But to pursue our first hypothesis: Severus, on finding himself, at Fortingal, in proximity to what seemed to be the head-quarters of the tribe—the monuments of their religion, with other evidences of a considerable population, lying around him—might believe that the fugitive Britons would most likely re-assemble on the spot, as he advanced upon his march; and to prevent this, as well as to cover his retreat in case of need, he might leave a strong party to garrison this camp at Fortingal. Whether or not the reader may concur in these conjectures, he will perhaps allow that it is no easy matter to account, on any other grounds, for the existence of a Roman camp to the north of Loch Tay. A copper vessel, supposed to be Roman, was found at this spot;

<sup>a</sup> *Fortingaul*—"Camp of the Strangers"—Gough's *Camd.* I. p. 396.

<sup>b</sup> *v. Histor. Trans. ante.*

and near Taymouth were discovered a few *denarii*—none of them of later date than the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>a</sup>

We re-cross the Tay, at its confluence with the Almond, to visit the ground where stood the camp of Grassy-walls. Even a century ago, so few of the ramparts were in existence that its form could with difficulty be ascertained, although enough remained to show that it had been of a very large size—capable of containing, on the Polybian system, from 25,000 to 26,000 men; perhaps even 28,000—the full complement of three Polybian legions, with their auxiliaries. In this respect it corresponded, in some degree, with the largest inclosure on Ardoch Moor. The Military Way from Strageath led directly through it.<sup>b</sup> Along this causeway, about nine miles farther east, there was another oblong camp, at a place not far from Hatton, called Camp Moor. It was by one-half less in size than that of Grassy-walls, and would have afforded accommodation, on the Polybian system, to 8000 or 9000 men.<sup>c</sup> A little more to the north, near the confluence of the Tay and Isla, and exactly opposite to the old fortalice of Kinclaven, may be observed some traces of a Roman station, known as the Castle-hill. Hector Boece knew of these remains; and tells us, in his usual decided manner, that the Romans under Tribellius had occupied this post after the departure of Agricola. At Cupar Angus, immediately beside the church-yard, there may yet be seen the eastern rampart of a large rectangular camp, which Maitland the historian described, about a century ago, as being a regular square of 1200 feet, fortified with two strong ramparts and a double ditch.<sup>d</sup> A few minor works, apparently Roman, existed many years ago in this quarter of the country; they were probably the outposts of some great stations now no more: where, however, so little remains, it is unnecessary to linger by the way, and we may at once proceed to notice the more important vestiges of ancient castrametation which meet us farther on.

The first of them is the well-known camp of Battle-dykes, which intersected the line of the Roman way, three miles to the north of Forfar.

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camd.* I. p. 396. Roy mentions the camp at Fortingal; but he seems to have been only aware of the so-called *Prætorium*, which he speaks of as a square redoubt—p. 135.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, p. 66.

<sup>c</sup> *Id.* p. 68.

<sup>d</sup> v. *Sinc. Stat. Acc.* In the centre of this camp Malcolm IV. is said to have founded an abbey of Cistercian monks, A.D. 1104.



Very few of its entrenchments are now visible; but, according to what is known of its earlier condition, it seems to have been of a slightly irregular oblong shape. Its area comprised about eighty acres, and was encompassed by two ramparts of stone and earth, which were separated from each other by a ditch; its superficial extent being about 2970 by 1850 feet. It appears to have had six gates, covered by straight epaulments, five of which were perfectly distinct in the year 1755. Two of these five were situated on each side, and one at the eastern extremity. The opposite line of ramparts had by that time so completely disappeared, that, excepting at one corner, where the bend of the entrenchment might be plainly observed, no traces of the original form could be distinguished.<sup>a</sup> Two artificial tumuli, one composed of stones, the other of gravel, stood within the rampart, and a third occupied a position a short distance in advance of one of the gates. The camp of Battle-dykes was situated in an open plain, at the entrance of the valley of Strathmore. It was somewhat more extensive than the largest camp at Ardoch, and was capable of containing, on the Polybian system, about 28,000 men, and on that of Hyginus, from 60,000 to 70,000. Its position is now occupied by cultivated fields; in trenching a part of which, some small urns were lately brought to light, and also a stone coffin—most probably the tomb of some Pictish or Danish warrior.<sup>b</sup>

Between seven and eight miles to the south-east of Battle-dykes, and within a short distance of Kirkboddie, lies the camp of Harefaulds. In shape it bears a much closer resemblance to the plan of construction as laid down by Polybius, than any of the others we have hitherto mentioned; being nearly twice longer than it is broad, and of such a size as would, on his arrangement, contain a single legion, with its usual complement of auxiliaries. Although still in very fair preservation, its entrenchments have suffered considerably since it was visited by Roy. According to his measurement, the length of this camp was 2280 and its breadth 1080 feet. Ninety years ago its six gateways were nearly entire, two on each side and one at either end—all covered, as at Battle-dykes, with rectilinear traverses, thrown up before them on the open moor. Besides which, there was and still is, at the south-east corner, a small inclosure abutting on the rampart of the camp, with a single

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 76—Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 411.

<sup>b</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Oathlaw P.

gateway, protected in the same manner,<sup>a</sup> which seems to have been constructed at some period subsequent to the formation of the camp, either to accommodate an additional party of troops which had afterwards joined, or to contain the forage and cattle taken from the enemy. Sixty years ago, the traces of a causewayed road were plainly perceptible in many places, on a line between this camp and that of Battle-dykes.<sup>b</sup> They bore a great resemblance to the vestiges of the Roman Ways existing in other places; and if we may assume that a regularly paved road had been formed to connect those two camps by the men who raised their walls, it shows that both must have been occupied at the same time, and that that occupation had not been merely temporary. The camp of Harefaulds was less strongly fortified than that at Battle-dykes, owing perhaps to its greater distance from the mountain retreats of the natives. The two, as situated in regard to each other, and connected by a well-paved road, which could be easily scoured by the Roman cavalry, and which may possibly have had some small intermediate posts established along it,<sup>c</sup> must have secured to their garrisons a complete command of the valley of Angus; an object of no little consequence, while the country beyond continued in possession of the unconquered natives.

By a glance at our map,<sup>d</sup> it will be observed, that the Military Way proceeds across the South Esk towards another camp, to which is given the name of War-dykes. According to Roy, this was of the same size as the smaller Temporary Camp at Ardoch, and would consequently have accommodated about 12,000 men. On two adjacent heights are the celebrated Hill-Forts known as the Brown and White Caterthuns. These still remain to arrest the attention of the curious; but the Roman camp has followed the fortunes of its enterprising occupants. "Their pageant, dust—its memory, a dream."

At the distance of a few miles N.N.W. of Stonehaven, we reach the ground occupied by the large and singular encampment, known, time out of mind, by the name of Rae-Dykes.<sup>e</sup> But for the appearance of its various entrances, protected as usual by regular epaulments, the most acute observer,

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 67.

<sup>b</sup> v. Rev. Mr. Jamieson's Acc.—Gough's Camd. III. p. 410.

<sup>c</sup> v. Gough's Camd. III. p. 411.

<sup>d</sup> N. Brit. P. II.—Milit. Antiq. Pl. XIV. and p. 67.

<sup>e</sup> The affix "dykes" has been applied, it will be observed, to most of the camps in this part of the country.

might well hesitate to believe that the Romans had anything to do with its construction. Its form, as nearly as we can describe it, resembles an irregular hexagon, and occupies a considerable rising ground; the highest part of which is inclosed within the lines. The circumference of the ramparts has been somewhere about 3300 yards, or nearly two miles;<sup>a</sup> but, from its uncommon and irregular shape, it is difficult to say what number of troops may have been quartered within it; although it must have been capable of containing, at least, from 25,000 to 26,000 men.<sup>b</sup> The rampart is of earth, 30 feet broad at the base, and has a large ditch excavated along its front. It appears, from the earliest known survey, to have had six gateways, placed at pretty regular intervals along the lines; and, as before observed, they are the only points of resemblance which can be found to exist between the camp of Rae-Dykes and those which had been raised at Ardoch, Harefaulds, and other places. Several warlike weapons of antique form have been found within its walls; in particular, some spear-heads and a helmet, supposed to be Roman.<sup>c</sup> This camp occupies a commanding position, and overlooks a great extent of country, which, from the nature of the soil, seems to have been at one period covered with woods.

The next to be taken notice of is the camp of Norman-dykes, which stood on the north bank of the Dee, near the church of Peterculter, at the distance of about six and a half miles from the city of Aberdeen. At present, a part of the rampart and ditch of one of its sides, which form the fence of an adjoining field, alone remains. This camp had escaped the notice of our earlier antiquaries, and, until examined by Colonel Shand in 1801, was generally believed to have been constructed by the Norwegians or Danes—hence its popular name of Norman-dykes. The results of that gentleman's survey were, however, sufficient to prove that it might claim a much higher antiquity than attaches to the era of the Scandinavian rovers; and in this opinion he was supported by Professor Stewart and other writers, who had no hesitation in ascribing its construction to the period of the Roman invasion. Its remaining vestiges were at that time sufficient to show that this camp had been nearly of the same form, but not quite so large, as that of Battle-dykes,

<sup>a</sup> Maitland calls it three miles round—Hist. of Scot. I. p. 202.

<sup>b</sup> v. Gough's Camd. III. p. 409.

<sup>c</sup> Gough's Camd. III. p. 409. In the vicinity of Stonehaven a great number of Roman coins, amongst others of the Emperor Severus, were discovered in 1843.

its actual measurement being 2904 by 1629 feet; which gives an area sufficient, according to the Polybian system, for the accommodation of not less than 25,000 men. To all appearance the number of gates—two on each side, and one at either end—had been the same in both.<sup>a</sup>

Our readers may, perhaps, by this time be well satisfied to learn that the course of these details is hastening to an end. We have now to make but one wide step towards the opposite extremity of Aberdeenshire; and the last of the great Roman camps known to have existed in Scotland lies, as it were, before us. It is situated near the “Wells,” or sources of the river Ythan, about four miles south-west from the little village of Auchterless, in the parish of the same name, through which passes the highway from Aberdeen to Banff. This camp, like that in the vicinity of Stonehaven, is also known by the name of “Rae-Dykes” or “Re-Dykes.”<sup>b</sup> It has been of a very large size—measuring, when entire, about 2700 by 1950 feet, which gives a circumference of nearly two miles. The shape was oblong, and it appears to have had six gates, placed in the same manner as in the camps lately referred to, and protected like them with straight epaulments.<sup>c</sup> At present, the ramparts of two sides only are to be distinguished. The country immediately around is studded with many other remains of old entrenchments; showing it to have been, at some remote period, the seat of a hazardous or disputed occupation. Near Pitcaple House, at the distance of eight miles from Re-Dykes to the south-east, there may be seen the vestiges of a strongly constructed post, which has all the appearance of a Roman *Castellum*. It stands on the banks of the river Urie, and close upon the supposed track of the Ninth *Iter*, forming a sort of connecting link between the camp of Norman-dykes, on the Dee, and that which was placed at the sources of the Ythan.

The reader who has accompanied us through these details will perhaps have remarked, that, with few exceptions, the whole of the Roman camps in North Britain may be divided into two distinct classes—the large and the small. The first, according to the Polybian system, capable of containing from 25,000 to 28,000 men—the second, from 10,000

<sup>a</sup> v. Chalm. I. p. 125—and N. Stat. Aberdeensh. p. 108.

<sup>b</sup> “Ra” in Gaelic signifies a place of strength—Chalm. I. p. 127.

<sup>c</sup> v. Roy, Pl. LI.

to 12,000.<sup>a</sup> Very few of an intermediate size appear to have existed in Scotland, in so far at least as can be ascertained from the vestiges of the Roman field-works which have been discovered in this part of the island; and when any such exceptions do occur, we in general find them in the vicinity of permanent stations. So much, therefore, may be regarded as certain—that one large army had moved from Strathearn to the borders of Banffshire; and that it had either retraced its steps in two equal divisions, or that another force, of half the size, had likewise gone over the same ground. It was principally from a consideration of this circumstance, that General Roy adopted the opinion that the battle of the Grampians had been fought by Agricola somewhere about the skirts of the mountains at the east end of Strathmore. He believed the Roman general to have advanced with three legions and their auxiliaries—in number about 28,000—from the great camp at Ardoch, constructing those of nearly similar size at Grassy-walls and Battle-dykes, and, after defeating the Caledonians beyond the North Esk, to have then subdivided his forces—sending a part of them on board his fleet, and marching the remainder towards the south, in two bodies, by War-dykes and Hare-faulds.<sup>b</sup> He appears to have been then ignorant of the existence of the other large camps of Rae-dykes near Stonehaven, and Re-dykes on the Ythan, the last of which tells of a more northerly march, with regard to the great army in question, than coincides with his ideas of Agricola's movements. The Earl of Buchan, and others who have bestowed attention on the subject, agree with Roy in placing the scene of conflict near the shores of Kincardine; believing the camp of Rae-dykes at Stonehaven to have been that in which the Romans were assembled before the battle.<sup>c</sup> We have no desire, however, to re-open a discussion already so ably handled, and so little likely to be ever set at rest. Having ventured, however, in a preceding part of the volume, to advance a few opinions favourable to those views which point to the neighbourhood of Ardoch as the probable site of the Caledonian defeat, we may here perhaps be allowed to repeat, that we cannot discover any good reason for believing that the large camps at Ardoch and in Strathmore were raised by the advancing

<sup>a</sup> On the system of Hyginus, be it remembered, we may more than double these numbers.

<sup>b</sup> Milit. Antiq. chap. III.—See our Map of N. Brit. Part II.

<sup>c</sup> v. Gough's Camd. III. p. 409.

army of Agricola, rather than by the forces of Lollius Urbicus, or even by those of the Emperor Severus. The discovery of old entrenchments at the sources of the Ythan, similar, in many respects, to those at Battle-dykes near Forfar, naturally lead to the conclusion that both had been constructed by the same body of troops, and that that body had proceeded much farther to the north than Agricola has ever been supposed to have done. This, at all events, militates against Lord Buchan's conjecture that he had retraced his steps from the neighbourhood of Stonehaven, as well as against many of Roy's details of his last campaign. The size too of the great camps beyond the Tay may, with some reason, be thought rather large for what would appear to have been the numerical amount of Agricola's force, when we compare the expressions of Tacitus with the information conveyed by other authors regarding the proportionate divisional strength of a Roman army. We are told, for instance, by that historian, that the auxiliary infantry present at the battle with Galgacus numbered about 8000, and that the wings consisted of 3000 horse—the Roman legions and four squadrons of cavalry being kept in reserve.\* He does not state what was the strength of the reserve; but if we may take it for granted that the establishment of the auxiliaries was, as usual, on a similar scale with that of the legions, and that this reserve cavalry was in fact *the* cavalry of the legions,<sup>b</sup> we thus obtain a kind of key to enable us to form a probable estimate of the entire force with which Agricola entered the field; and we should accordingly conceive the Roman army to have somewhat exceeded the number of 20,000—composed of the several divisions as follows:—namely,

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Two Roman Legions, each 4200 strong,.....          | 8,400  |
| Cavalry of the Legions, 300 to each, .....         | 600    |
| Two bodies of Auxiliaries, each 4200 strong,.....  | 8,400  |
| Cavalry of the Allies, as stated by Tacitus, ..... | 3,000  |
| <hr/>  |        |
| Total,.....  | 20,400 |

On the auxiliary establishment, the Horse should not have amounted to more than 1800: it seems probable, therefore, from the great number stationed in the front line, that this arm of the force had been much increased during the

\* Vit. Agric. c. xxxv. and xxxvii.

<sup>b</sup> We are warranted to suppose this from the anxiety of their General to avoid, as much as possible, the effusion of Roman blood—*v. ante*, p. 75.

warfare carried on against the active natives of the Caledonian forests; perhaps the cavalry of the legions had likewise been placed on a higher establishment than usual: still, although we double the amount of this part of the force, the army of Agricola must fall far short of the numbers required to fill any of those extensive camps which are supposed to have been his. But we need pursue the subject no farther, and may refer the reader to our brief historical summary of the Roman Invasion for a few general remarks on the question. However much we might desire to increase the preceding list of the Temporary Camps, we feel certain that this cannot be done without making use of the Roman name, in some cases with great uncertainty, in others where it ought not to be introduced. Better, therefore, not to attempt too wide a range; but, in the words of the moralist, to "aim at a sure end"—*Certum Pete Finem*.

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#### SECTION IV.

##### MILITARY WAYS.

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THE earliest Roman roads in Britain were no doubt of that rude and temporary nature which have been already described—formed of the trunks and branches of trees, wherever the marshy nature of the soil made more than a simple clearing necessary. The vestiges of such *Via* have been discovered in various parts of the country, many feet below the strata of peat-moss which have accumulated since the overthrow of our primitive forests. The great age of those subterraneous roadways cannot be questioned, when we look to their peculiar position, and to the depth at which they lie concealed; nor can we well ascribe their origin to any other than the soldiery of Rome; as it is by no means probable that the native inhabitants, while perfect freedom of action remained to them, would engage in such labours as were calculated to expose to their enemies the hidden retreats on which their safety must so often have depended. In the generality of cases, the trees employed in the roads

referred to are found to have been squared by the hatchet into the form of logs, and to have been placed together, in some instances in single, in others in double layers; bearing much resemblance to a rudely constructed raft.<sup>a</sup> At one place, however, the pathway had been formed of oaken planks, regularly shaped and fastened down by stakes driven perpendicularly through them;<sup>b</sup> a method resorted to where perhaps large timber was scarce. With some such aids to a ready means of transit through the lower districts of the country, the invader probably remained satisfied, until undisturbed possession enabled him to devote his resources to the furtherance of improvement, and to the carrying forward of, amid other labours, the lines of the permanent causeways, from the banks of the Tyne and Irthing into the territories wrested from the Northern Tribes.

The vestiges still existing of the great military ways which were formed by the Romans in this part of the Island, are in many places sufficiently distinct to show the general character of those works, and to confirm much of what has been said as regards the efficient method of their construction, and the great amount of labour bestowed upon them. On their formation and subsequent repairs the provincial Britons as well as their conquerors laboured, perhaps, as occasion required, for two centuries and a half—from the time of Antoninus Pius till the departure of the last of the legions with Gallio of Ravenna—when the entire country returned to barbarism, under the bloody dominion of the Scots and Picts. Although peace and order were brought back, in some degree, with the introduction of Christianity and the establishment of monarchical influence, still there is certainly no period of our annals, from the first arrival of the Saxons down to the present age, when such gigantic undertakings could have been accomplished as were the Roman roads. We say gigantic, in reference to the time when, and the circumstances under which, they were formed; and so well does the word apply, when comparing them with the works of later times, that it really creates no surprise to find that tradition, ignorant of their actual origin, should have ascribed their construction to supernatural causes. All ignorance on the subject is now, however, pretty generally dispelled from amongst the peasantry of Scotland; yet the stranger will at times find some little difficulty in persuading them that

<sup>a</sup> As at Flanders Moss, Stirlingshire.

<sup>b</sup> Not far from Annan—*v.* Gough's *Camd.* III. *Camd.* 323.



the "ancient causeway" was not the veritable creation of Michael Scott, the wizard—not even, it may be, of the arch-fiend himself. Such an idea was at one time by no means uncommon, and we cannot but regard it as a curious evidence of what was popularly thought of those "mysterious" roads—the traces of an early civilisation of which nothing was commonly known, and which coincided in no respect with the national characteristics of after times.

The Roman ways in North Britain were in general from eighteen to twenty-four feet wide, having a broad ditch on either side, which served as a drain to preserve the causeway in a dry condition. They were variously constructed, according to the nature of the several districts through which they passed. Where suitable materials were abundant, such for instance as small boulders and the like, the way was paved with them very much in the style of our modern streets; the middle of the road being slightly raised, and the stones bound together with sand or gravel. Where freestone was at hand, it was formed into square blocks, and placed along the surface, giving it somewhat of the appearance of a well-built wall laid on its side; but where it happened that no large stones could be procured in the neighbourhood, the workmen seem to have accomplished the formation of the *Via* by removing the loose soil from the top, and filling its place with successive layers of gravel and small stones intermixed. In all cases, the road-way was more or less raised above the surface of the adjacent soil—a continuous ridge, running nearly in a straight course, by wood, morass, and mountain, from one extremity of the country to the other.\*

Along those roads numerous small military posts were established, particularly where any danger was to be dreaded from the proximity of an enemy. We learn, besides, that houses of entertainment were at intervals to be met with, probably near some of these stations; and that a regular series of mile-stones was placed on every principal route—a convenience long unknown in after-times on the highways of the Scottish kingdom. The Roman mile-stones are said to have varied in shape in different reigns—those of Augustus being round and plain—of Tiberius, quadrangular—under Claudius, again of a circular form, somewhat ornamented—and, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, likewise round, with carved

\* v. Roy, p. 108—Sibbald Hist. Inq. p. 39.

mouldings; but differing from all the others in being placed like demi-shafts of columns upon square pedestals. Such at least is supposed, from the evidence of their inscriptions, to have been the peculiar forms which were in vogue at the several periods named; although it is by no means decisive of the same shape having been minutely adopted in all parts of the empire at any one time.<sup>a</sup> Several pedestals, with an opening on the top for the insertion of a circular column, were formerly to be seen along the Roman road from Redesdale in Northumberland to Chew-green. They stood rather less than an English mile apart, and formed, without doubt, the last vestiges of the miliary pillars which had been erected there by Lollius Urbicus or some of his successors.<sup>b</sup>

In directing our attention to such of the Roman causeways as are known to have existed in North Britain, we have before us the course of three principal lines, which, with some few connecting or branch-ways, seem to have formed the principal means of inter-communication which were enjoyed by the provincial inhabitants of Scotland during its annexation to the Roman empire. The first of these to be taken notice of is that which may be said to have formed a continuation of the Great Western Road, leading from the banks of the Severn, along the east border of Wales, to Manchester, and thence to Stanwix in the vicinity of Carlisle. From Stanwix the road proceeded to Longtown on the Esk, (where a branch-way, to be afterwards mentioned, led off towards the north-east,) and from Longtown to Gretna—passing over the Solway moss, nearly on the track of the present high road between Carlisle and Lockerby.<sup>c</sup> From Gretna the track of this causeway could, in comparatively recent times, be distinctly followed for many miles together, leading through the exterior portion of the station at Birrens, near Middleby church, thence by the south of Birrensworck-hill to the neighbourhood of Lockerby, and from that point onward towards

<sup>a</sup> In addition to the Miliary Stones, others were frequently to be met with on the Roman ways, which had been raised in honour of the Emperor by whose orders the road had been formed or repaired.—*c.* Roy, p. 108—who thinks that in many parts of the North no regular mile-stones had ever been set up, but that “common moor stones,” without inscriptions, had supplied their place—*Introd.* p. iii.

<sup>b</sup> They were known to the people of the neighbourhood by the name of the “Golden Pots.”

<sup>c</sup> Maitland says it crossed the Sark at “the Barrow,” and continued westward to “Birns”—*Hist. of Scot. I.* p. 103—*See* our Map of N. Brit. Part I.

the Gallaberry-hill, near the confluence of the rivers Dryfe and Annan; leaving on the left both the town of Lockerby and the great camp on Torwood moor. At present, some traces of its course may be seen in the parish of Dryfesdale, not far from Lockerby, as well as at one or two other places along the line: generally speaking, however, they are very indistinct, and the whole may be said to have almost entirely disappeared. About eighty years ago a supposed Roman relic was found near this road, at Cove, about a mile west of the church of Kirkpatrick-Fleming. It was an ornament of gold, apparently either a bracelet or *fibula*, with the inscription *HELENVS M. B.* in raised characters.

From near the confluence of the Dryfe and Annan the way divided into two branches. The one kept the east side of the Annan for about ten miles, up to the Burnfoot of Kirkpatrick, where it is supposed to have crossed the river, and to have proceeded thence along its western bank, by Tatius-holm and the mouth of the Evan water, to Little Clyde, and from that point to the neighbourhood of Crawford Castle. The other struck to the westward, and passed by the stations of Wood-Castle and Amisfield to the valley of the Nith; ascending which, in a northerly direction, it proceeded by the village of Thornhill to the *Castellum* at Durisdeer, and thence through the "Well-path"—on the line of the present Glasgow road—by the eastern skirt of the Lowthers, to Elvanfoot. From this point it proceeded to Crawford, where the two branches met. Some traces of the first line may yet be seen in the parish of Applegarth, and also in that of Wamphray, immediately adjoining. In the last, it passes near the old road from Glasgow. Along this part of the line are many large blocks of stone, set on end, and five or six feet in height, which some have conjectured to have been Roman mile-stones of the rudest class. Many pieces of common pavement have been dug up in this neighbourhood, along the course of the Roman way, which show it to have been constructed in a most solid and durable manner:<sup>b</sup> in the parish of Moffat it is also visible, formed on a similar plan. Although, until the end of last century, many portions of it were perfectly distinct, scarcely a vestige of the Nithsdale line now remains. From Crawford Castle the re-united *Viæ* proceeded towards Biggar, passing by Wandel-Mill, where some traces of the causeway still exist. From Biggar, it

<sup>a</sup> Its value, as bullion, was about £12—*v. Stat. Acc. Kirk. Flem.*

<sup>b</sup> *v. Stat. Acc'ta.*

inclined to the north-west, by Libberton church, and thence descended to the station at Corbiehall, now situated within the pleasure-grounds of Carstairs.<sup>a</sup> In Roy's time the line of causeway could be clearly traced, passing through the above station, and leading from it to the neighbourhood of the great temporary camp at Cleghorn Bridge; but it has since been entirely ploughed up in that quarter, and no vestige of it remains. After leaving, however, the Mouse at Cleghorn, its traces become in many places very distinct. At a short distance north from the site of the above mentioned camp, you perceive the line of the Roman road passing through a thick plantation, and forming a lengthened glade through the surrounding trees, which seem prevented from encroaching upon it by the repelling nature of its stony surface—impenetrable to their roots, but concealed from view by a slight covering of moss and turf. Between this point and the farm of Belstone, to the northward of Carluke, the causeway is in several places still visible, leading by Kilcadzow, Coldstream, Yieldshields, and Dyke. At Dyke it is very perfect, having on one side some appearance of an *agger* or wall. At Belstone the road again divided into two branches. The first of these proceeded nearly on a line with the river Clyde to the Wall of Antoninus at West Kilpatrick—passing, it is believed, for some miles, along the track of the present turnpike road from Carluke to Wishaw; then leaving it near Camnethan Kirk, and proceeding thence by Meadowhead, in the vicinity of Wishaw-gate, to Motherwell. From this point it appears to have led by the heights to the south of Bellshill towards Clydeside, near the mouth of the North Calder, and from about Clydeside to Tollcross—where Roy saw some of its remains—advancing thence to the Drygate of Glasgow, and passing, by an old thoroughfare called Dobbie's Loan,<sup>b</sup> perhaps towards the neighbourhood of Partick; from which it most probably pursued the course of the present Dumbarton road, until it reached the Wall.<sup>c</sup>

The second line, diverging near Carluke, appears to have gone nearly due north by the Kirk of Shotts, either to the station at Castlecary, or to that at

<sup>a</sup> Maitland avers that a branch line led to the north-east from Biggar, pointing towards the Pentland Hills, and in the direction of Cramond. He is the only author who mentions such a line—Hist. of Scot. I. p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> *c.* Brown's Glasgow, v. I.

<sup>c</sup> See Map of North Brit. Part I. Roy likewise traced some of its remains between West Kilpatrick and Dalmuir Burn—p. 105—*c.* also Chalmers' Map.

Camelon, near Falkirk—probably to both; for it seems by no means unlikely that, as this causeway approached the Wall, it may have divided into two branches, which respectively conducted to those important stations. A part of this road was recently traced, leading from Belstone to Castlehill; and a few years ago some of its supposed vestiges were likewise discovered on the farm of Braco, formerly mentioned, and where a number of Roman *denarii* were recently found.<sup>a</sup> The portion then exposed pointed in a direct line to Castlecary, which, in connection with the fact of a paved road having been traced from that station leading directly towards Braco, leaves little doubt of a military way having anciently passed between these two places; however conjectural may be the opinion which supposes a similar branch to have been carried forward in the direction of Falkirk, to join the great road which led from Camelon to the North.

Such, at a general glance, were the lines of the principal highways which were formed by the Romans to connect, on the west side of the Island, the *Prætenturæ* of Hadrian with those of Antoninus Pius. From those mentioned, it is probable that many other roads diverged of which we have no account. There may very possibly, for instance, have been a vicinal way leading from Nithsdale into Galloway or Ayrshire, and another from about Biggar to the station at Lyne.<sup>b</sup> We know, however, only of two, of which any remains have been visible in modern times. One of these connected the town of VANDUARA (Paisley) with the main line of road at Glasgow<sup>c</sup>—the other passed from the station near Carstairs into Ayrshire. Every vestige of the former has disappeared, but the track of the latter is still very distinct, in various places, in a direct line between the town of Lanark and the conspicuous peak of Loudon-hill. It is supposed to have crossed the Clyde a little way below the castle-hill of Lanark, and to have proceeded thence over Stonebyres-hill towards the Nethan, which it probably passed about

<sup>a</sup> The remains of the ancient causeway which are here alluded to, were accidentally laid open by some workmen employed in repairing the sluices of a small compensation reservoir called the Lilly Loch. The discovery is somewhat interesting, as showing the course of this *Via* to have led by Braco—a circumstance till then uncertain. The coins here mentioned were discovered in 1842, in removing some sods from the surface of a piece of moss land. They amounted to several hundreds, principally of the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina, and most of them were in good preservation. Some of them were procured by Dr. Clark of Wester Moffat, and by John Buchanan, Esq. Glasgow, in whose possession they now are.

<sup>b</sup> See Gordon It. Sept.

<sup>c</sup> Chalm. I. p. 149.

half a mile above Craignethan Castle. All this part of its course has been long ploughed up; but a little farther on, in the parish of Stonehouse, the elevation of the ancient causeway is to this day very perceptible, especially in the neighbourhood of Chapel-Farm, where, in several places, it traverses the tilled land, leaving a broad ridge of uncultivated ground. From this point to Loudon-hill—beyond which it has never been traced—the Roman road can be followed at intervals, passing at a short distance to the southward of the river Avon. Along this part of the way a great number of Roman coins have been discovered—generally speaking of silver, and in the finest state of preservation;<sup>a</sup> and near Loudon-hill were found several of those curious bronze vessels which we formerly had occasion to mention as supposed to be Roman camp-kettles.<sup>b</sup> It is probable enough that this Military Road proceeded from Loudon-hill to the sea-coast, perhaps to Irvine, where, according to Sir R. Sibbald, there was a Roman station; but although diligent search has been made for the vestiges of an ancient causeway in that direction, nothing of a satisfactory nature has yet been discovered.<sup>c</sup>

While on this subject we must not omit to mention, that, in removing a stone cairn some ten years ago at Coat Castle, on the banks of the Avon, there was discovered a number of sepulchral urns, elegantly ornamented with flowers and figures, and differing materially from the rude productions of the kind so commonly to be met with in the burial places of the Celtic or Danish inhabitants. This cairn or *tumulus* was little more than a mile distant from the Roman Way, and we may suppose it to have been raised over the ashes of some Roman colonists long settled in its neighbourhood.<sup>d</sup>

Returning to the borders of Cumberland, the reader will perceive, by a glance at our map,<sup>e</sup> that a road is there laid down as leading from Netherby across Teviotdale to Eildon, and from which a branch diverges near the banks of the Esk, pointing in the direction of Castle-Over or of Raeburnfoot. Of these two roads nothing can now be said from actual observation.

<sup>a</sup> In 1800 a considerable number of *denarii* of Vespasian, Hadrian, and Faustina, were dug up on the line of this way at Torfoot in Strathaven parish. In 1803 some 300 or 400 more were discovered in the same part of the country. Many of them we have seen.

<sup>b</sup> v. "Carstairs," *ante*, p. 140.

<sup>c</sup> v. Roy, p. 104—N. Stat. Acc. of Loudon P.

<sup>d</sup> v. N. Stat. Acc. Stonehaven P.

<sup>e</sup> N. BRIT. PART I.

According to Roy and others, they were tolerably distinct in many places previous to the close of last century.<sup>a</sup> The only discoveries made in the neighbourhood of their several routes which merit notice, are some few Roman coins, in particular an *aureus* of Otho, found in the vicinity of Langholm, and a bronze vessel, with several rude sepulchral urns, disinterred in the parish of Hawick.<sup>b</sup>

The great approach to the north, by the east side of the island, left the wall of Severus near Corbridge, and proceeded by the site of the present village of Rochester towards the military station at Chew-Green. Descending from that point through the western pass of the Cheviot Hills, it led along the east side of Oxnam parish, and through that of Jedburgh, towards the river Teviot, half a mile above its junction with the Jed, and continued thence, in almost a straight line, by St. Boswell's Green, to the vicinity of the village of Eildon. A considerable portion of the ancient road is still visible along this part of its track, and is to this day, indeed, made use of as a thoroughfare, especially by the northern drovers on their periodical visits to England.<sup>c</sup> In the parish of Oxnam its raised surface is in many places very distinct; the whole being in general overgrown by grass, under which, however, the line of causeway may be plainly perceived—the top of its ridge covered by what may be called a regular pavement. Farther on, at the distance of two miles to the east of the town of Jedburgh, it is laid with courses of whinstone, and is in a very perfect condition. To the north of the Teviot the traces of this road have in most places disappeared before the operations of the plough; but it may yet be partially observed, skirting the western boundary of Maxton parish, where it has been planted with trees, which extend like a verdant belt in the direction of Melrose. The only antiques believed to be Roman, of which we find particular notice taken as having been discovered in the vicinity of the military way between Chew-green and the Eildon Hills, are two large-sized brass camp-kettles; one found at Stotfield,<sup>d</sup> on the south-west side of Oxnam parish, and the other at Edgerston, not far from a farm called Camp-town in the

<sup>a</sup> Some have conjectured, but it is only conjecture, that from Castle-Over the *Via* proceeded to Peebles—more properly speaking, we should say, to the station at Lyne, v. Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 414, who deduces a connection, not easily understood, between this line of road and the Catrail or Picts' Work Ditch.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, p. 106—*N. Stat. Acc. Dumfriessh.* P. 404, note—*Ib.* *Roxburghsh.* p. 395.

<sup>c</sup> *N. Stat. Acc.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*

parish of Roxburgh<sup>a</sup>—both specimens of those peculiar vessels already mentioned. To the north of St. Boswell's Green but few traces of the Roman causeway remain. It is supposed to have proceeded from that point towards the village of Newstead, which stands about a mile to the eastward of Melrose, and to have crossed the Tweed in that vicinity. Thence it no doubt ascended the valley of the Leader<sup>b</sup> to the great camp at Channel Kirk, from which it went forward in the direction of Currie near Borthwick Castle, and finally bent its course towards the station of Cramond by way of Dalhousie, Springfield, Comiston, and Barnton park.<sup>c</sup> From about the site of Dalhousie, a vicinal way diverged by the camp at Sheriff-hall to Inveresk,<sup>d</sup> whence another proceeded along the coast to Cramond,<sup>e</sup> and thence, as formerly mentioned, towards the termination of the great wall at Carriden. A third branch-way still shows its remains in this quarter—leading through the parish of Duddingston towards the south-west. But it is a question difficult to be solved, whether or not this last has any connection with the times of the Roman occupation.<sup>f</sup> Various remains of antiquity have been brought to light on the line of the ancient *Via* between Lauderdale and Cramond. At Tollis-hill, three miles N.W. of Channel Kirk, several Roman coins;<sup>g</sup> at Mavisbank House, near Springfield, many *Fibulae* and *Stili* of bronze;<sup>h</sup> and at Gogar House, a few miles from Corstorphine, a very antique sword, a *Fibula*, and a

<sup>a</sup> N. Stat. Acc. This last is now at Abbotsford.

<sup>b</sup> The line of the Roman road is still very perceptible in many parts of Lauder parish—especially a little to the west of the town of Lauder—whence it proceeds towards the manse of Channel Kirk—N. Stat. Acc. Berwicksh. p. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, without any sufficient authority, carries the road, after passing the Tweed at Newstead, nearly as far west as the Gala Water, and thence leads it forward to the neighbourhood of Channel Kirk. He found no traces of it on that line; while along Lauderdale it is even yet, in some places, perfectly distinct. See preceding note.

<sup>d</sup> "Traces of a Roman causeway, which existed from the harbour of Fisherrow to the camp at Sheriffhall, and thence to Borthwick, were in many places visible in the memory of man; while another branch, extending westward to the south of Portobello, and thence into the parish of Currie, is still, at several points, in remarkable preservation. The fragment in the parish of Duddingston is well known locally, under the vulgarised name of the 'Fishwives' Causeway'"—N. Stat. Acc. Edinburghshire, p. 259. See also Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 312.

<sup>e</sup> Some remains of this road were discovered at Leith, when one of the piers was being repaired—Chalm. I. p. 144.

<sup>f</sup> Not long ago, the Fishwives' Causeway formed part of the great road from Edinburgh to London—*Ibid.* p. 389. Some consider it to belong to Queen Mary's time.

<sup>g</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Berwicksh. p. 9.

<sup>h</sup> They are now at Pennycuik House. *Ibid.* Edinburghsh. p. 33.



curious gold ring, have been found.<sup>a</sup> In various other places, coins, sword-blades, and such relics, have been met with—the great majority of which are thought to be Roman.

The last of the military ways to be mentioned within the line of Antoninus' Wall, is that which is reported to have led from about Corbridge in Northumberland towards the Tweed a little above Berwick, and to have extended thence as far as St. Abb's Head, where some vestiges of ancient quadrangular entrenchments may yet be seen. St. Abb's Head was probably a naval station—connected with the Wall of Severus by means of the road referred to. From the name Chester or Chesters, so often attached to the Roman stations in England, being very common in the parish of Ayton, which lies along what must have been the course of this *Via*, we may conjecture that some great permanent camps, of which the names alone survive, had at one time existed there.<sup>b</sup> The vestiges of a circular British stronghold are still to be seen in the neighbourhood, but of the Roman station and the Roman Way all have perished.

The only road which is known to have been formed by the Romans, leading from the Wall of Antoninus northward, is ascertained to have left that great defensive barrier in the neighbourhood of Camelon, to have passed near Larbert Bridge and Torwood-head, crossed the Bannock at the bridge of Milltown,<sup>c</sup> and wound its way towards the Forth at Kildean, a short distance above Stirling. From Kildean it no doubt proceeded by the station of ALAUNA at Keirfield, thence to Ardoch, and from Ardoch forward by Strageath to the mouth of the river Almond, where is supposed to have stood the Roman ORREA.<sup>d</sup> From the confluence of the Tay and Almond it

<sup>a</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Edinburghshire, p. 216.

<sup>b</sup> We find, for instance, within a short distance of each other, the farms of *Cairnchester*, *Chesterbank*, and *Chesterdale*. Eymouth may possibly have been a Roman post: it is but two miles and a half distant from those Chesters.

<sup>c</sup> Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 365.

<sup>d</sup> Roy, *Milit. Antiq.* p. 107. The road from Stirling to Auchterarder passes, it is supposed in part, over the line of the Roman causeway. Mr. Gough appears, however, to have erred in placing it so far to the south of Ardoch as Greenloaning (which he terms "Graemelomning"—*Camd.* III. p. 382). Roy concludes that it crossed the Allan at a place he calls West Fedal, about a mile to the north of Greenloaning—(*Milit. Antiq.* p. 107.) In the vicinity of Ardoch there are many circular holes on either side of the Roman Way (Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 382)—probably the pits whence stones and sand were taken for its formation. Maitland states that the Roman road passed to the west of Stirling Castle, by the way, in his time, called the Craigh-forth road—*Hist. of Scot.* I. p. 194.

extended along the southern side of the Isla river to the great camp at Battle-dykes, thence to that at War-dykes, and eventually, in all probability, to the seaport of Stonehaven, on the coast of Kincardineshire.<sup>a</sup> Of this road little or nothing can now be traced between Camelon and Strageath; a century ago, however, it was perfectly distinct in various places along that part of its course, which could be then ascertained with considerable accuracy.<sup>b</sup>

The stranger, who would at this day examine any distinct portion of its remains, must proceed beyond the Earn into the parishes of Gask and of Trinity-Gask. In that quarter the ancient causeway is for some miles tolerably perfect, and is even now partially made use of as a public road. In the parish of Gask it is twenty feet wide, and is composed of rough stones laid closely together. By its side the traces of several small *Castella* are still visible, inclosed by ditches, which are perfectly distinct. Within the policies of Gask the traces of two larger stations may be seen, one upon the north, the other on the south side of the military way, or "street-way," as it is here called by the inhabitants.<sup>c</sup> From this point the causeway almost totally disappears until we get beyond the Tay; where it may again be plainly observed, extending along the high grounds to the south of the river Isla, and leading forward towards the north-east.<sup>d</sup> We need not, however, dwell upon the dry details necessary to explain the course of the Roman *Via* which penetrated of old the retreats of the Northern Britons, but shall merely observe, that it is exceedingly probable that numerous branch-roads existed in Perthshire and elsewhere, of which no record has been preserved, or of which the record has proved so evanescent that it only lingers in popular tradition. We are aware, for instance, of what is called a Roman Way having been traced, leading apparently from about Abernethy, in the direction of Auchterarder, and which passed near the village of Dunning and house of Duncrub. From the discovery, at the mouth of the Earn, of certain remains which were apparently those of a Roman Bath,<sup>e</sup> it seems probable that some kind of station had existed there in ancient times, from which a road may have led directly to the westward, instead of

<sup>a</sup> See Map of N. Brit. Part II.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, p. 107.

<sup>c</sup> Gough's Camd. III. p. 382—N. Stat. Acc. Perthshire, p. 282.

<sup>d</sup> v. Map of N. Brit. Part II.

<sup>e</sup> Mr. Wedderburn, writing in the year 1783, states that, at the confluence of the Earn

making a *detour* to join the main line, by ascending the Tay to ORREA. Any discoveries which have been made are not, however, entirely sufficient to prove its existence; and we must therefore rest satisfied with the passing glance which has been taken at what are known to have been the chief of the Roman Military Ways which had been constructed in this part of the Island.

Of those merely temporary roads which were composed of the trunks of trees, laid together in the form of a raft, numerous vestiges have been met with in Scotland. In the Lochar moss, near Dumfries—in Flanders moss, about eight miles to the west of Stirling—in the mosses of Kippen, and in that of Kincardine in Menteith, continuous portions of roads, composed of logs of wood, laid closely together, and bearing the marks of the axe, have at various times been exposed, at the depth of several feet from the surface.\* From the circumstance that the peat moss was found to have accumulated in most instances to the depth of five or six feet above those timber road-ways, there can be no doubt of their very great antiquity, and as little, we should think, as to the men who had levelled the Caledonian woods for the purpose of their formation.

Beyond the camp at Battle-dykes, near Forfar, no distinct appearance of any Roman road has ever been observed.<sup>b</sup> In the neighbourhood of Castle-Grant near Forres there are vestiges to be seen of an ancient causeway, which some antiquaries have been inclined to believe of Roman construction. Others somewhat similar in appearance exist in the valley of the Dee; but

and Tay, on the estate of Carpon, (properly "Carpow,") very considerable remains had been exposed—similar to those met with at Inveresk, and comprising the foundations of old buildings formed of Roman bricks, with regular pavements, &c.—See Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 311. To this it may be added that, during the year 1826, particular attention was drawn to those vestiges of ancient building, and that, in consequence of subsequent excavations, the floors of two apartments were laid open. The form of the first was tolerably distinct, the walls rising to the height of about twenty inches round it. It measured 18 feet by 10, and seemed to have been neatly paved with tiles. The other appeared to have been used as a bath; its floor and sides having been plastered with a hard cement, mixed, as at Inveresk, with a kind of brick dust. Some urns and coins were also found in the neighbourhood—See N. S. Acc. Perthsh. p. 851.

\* Chalm. *Caled.* I. pp. 105 and 188, notes—Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 323—New Stat. Acc. Perthsh. p. 1264.

<sup>b</sup> A correspondent of Mr. Gough's remarks that some of its vestiges could be observed on Brechin moor, to the north-east of Battle-dykes, in the direction of the House of Keithick—Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 414.

none of them bear that distinct resemblance to the Roman *Via* in general which might lead to a positive solution of the question.\*

We can learn nothing of any relics, worthy of particular notice, having been discovered in the neighbourhood of the Roman ways beyond the Wall of Antoninus. A variety of Roman coins, as well as of warlike weapons, spurs, fragments of armour, and horse-shoes—all green with the rust of age—have indeed been found at no great distance from many of those roads; but whether these last be Roman, Danish, Pictish, or the *reliquiæ* of generations who lived still nearer to our own times, it is impossible to say. It has been too much the practice to conclude that the majority of such remains have been preserved from the days of Roman conquest: hence have the pursuits of the antiquary been so frequently exposed to the keen, though not always unmerited, ridicule of the utilitarian world.

As was observed in another part of the volume, the durable roads, by means of which the Romans were enabled to lay the foundation of British civilisation, could only have been brought to perfection by slow degrees. With the continuance of peace, the rude pathway of logs became, in time, the regular and solid line of continuous stone, with its capacious water-courses on either hand, its way-side guard stations, houses of entertainment, military inscriptions, and other evidences of advancing civilisation. It would appear, from the speech which Tacitus ascribes to the Caledonian leader Galgacus, that the subdued portion of the Caledonian Britons had been compelled by their conquerors to assist in clearing the forests and in constructing the military ways.<sup>b</sup> This does not well accord with what his biographer previously mentions of the desire evinced by Agricola to conciliate the natives by gentle treatment, coupled with the seductions of luxury and of inglorious ease. There may have been, however, in all probability, considerable bands of prisoners of too high a spirit to yield a willing obedience, who were thus employed—labouring in a compulsory manner to confirm the dependence of their country by throwing it open to the invader, and laying, so to speak, the last means of its resistance at his feet.

The Romans were, we are told, in the habit of burying their dead in the neighbourhood of the highways.<sup>c</sup> In Scotland, discoveries of sepulchral urns have been made in several places, at no great distance from one or other of

\* See Chalm. Caled. I. p. 150.

<sup>b</sup> Vit. Agric. c. xxxi.

<sup>c</sup> See quot. from Propertius—Horsley, p. 391.

the causewayed roads already mentioned, which would prove of considerable interest to our subject, could we be certain that they might be attributed to those times when the funeral pile of the Roman colonist was lit in the North of Britain. But, with some few exceptions, the workmanship of those urns is so extremely rude, that many doubts must arise in supposing them to have contained the ashes of the Roman dead. The natives of Italy were not the only people of ancient Europe who adopted the habit of burning the bodies of the deceased. The Greeks practised the same custom in a very early age; from whom it is supposed to have spread over Gaul, and thence into Britain, where it is believed to have been followed by the natives long before the era of Cæsar's invasion.<sup>a</sup> On examining the accounts given of the great majority of the funereal vases dug up in this part of the island, it appears, therefore, that they ought to be considered much rather of native than of Roman origin. They are in general formed of the coarsest baked clay, and devoid of all ornament, with the exception of a few rude dotted lines on the exterior, such as might be impressed by the point of a nail or piece of sharpened wood. They have been generally found in the centre of stone cairns or under earthen mounds—positions which indicate a much nearer affinity with the Celtic than with the Roman mode of sepulture. We lately alluded, however, to a few exceptions, which, from a marked superiority both of workmanship and of ornament, may, with every probability, be ascribed to Italian taste. Several of them have been already mentioned, such as the brass-lined and other vases found at the station of ORREA on the Tay, and the figured urns dug up at Inveresk, and at Coat Castle on the Avon in Lanarkshire. To these may be added some antiques of a similar description—discovered seven miles south-west of Edinburgh, near an eminence called the Battle-Law—which were believed to be Roman, from the circumstance of one of them containing a sepulchral lamp, and others being stamped with initial letters.<sup>b</sup> The lamp is often met with in the ancient

<sup>a</sup> The Greeks no doubt derived it from the East. The *Cymbri* and people of Northern Germany also adopted the practice—*Diod. Sic—Cæsar De Bell. Gall.*

<sup>b</sup> In the neighbourhood of Alloa a considerable number of ancient urns, containing ashes and burned bones, have at different times been discovered. All of them appear, however, to have been of a very rude description. Near the same spot, in the year 1828, two stone coffins were found, in each of which was deposited a pair of gold bracelets—(See N. Stat. Acc. Clackmananshire, p. 40—and Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 372.) The bracelets are finely polished, but without ornament, and belonged most probably to the period of the Druids. The Romans, on

tombs of Italy, and the discovery of such a relic along with them strongly corroborates the supposition that the urns referred to had been deposited by Roman hands.

It is somewhat remarkable that the name of "Watling Street" should, from time immemorial, have been applied, by the peasantry of the districts through which they passed, to the majority of the Roman ways traversing Scotland. General Roy supposed that it was only given to the eastern line which crossed the English border at Chew-green;<sup>a</sup> but in this he was mistaken, as both the road by Annandale, and its branch-way leading into Ayrshire, were,<sup>b</sup> and are to this day, known as "the Watling Street." In the southern parts of the Island the principal Roman *Vie* were called by various distinctive names, such as "Watling Street," "Hermin Street," "The Fosse," and "Ikening" or "Iknild Street." The first of these appellatives seems, however, to have been the only one which was made use of to the north of Severus' Wall. Many are the conjectures which have been hazarded as to its derivation or meaning. Horsley supposes that the word *Watling* may signify "winding." Chalmers derives it from the Saxon *Wathol*, synonymous, he says, with the Latin *erraticus*; while, according to Dr. Stukely and Sir W. Betham, the designation in question ought to be ascribed to the time of the early Britons, as having been most probably applied by them to that one of their primitive ways which led towards the country of the *Gatheli* or *Guetheli*, the people of Ireland.<sup>c</sup> But, from whatever source derived, there it remains amongst our modern countrymen—a record, if we may so call it, of other times, and of a language that has passed away.

If the last vestiges of the Roman camps are in general rapidly disappearing before the progress of cultivation, their military ways are still more quickly yielding to the innovating hand of Time. Few will perhaps regret to see the "golden harvest" waving where the sterile track of the ancient causeway still traverses the field. Yet, if there be one who would

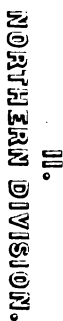
many occasions, buried with the dead their weapons and armour, and likewise coins; but never, that we are aware of, such ornaments as those above mentioned. One of the bracelets is now in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh.

<sup>a</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 102—Sinc. Stat. Acc. III. p. 458.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, p. 388.

<sup>c</sup> Horsley, p. 387—Chalm. I. p. 140—The "Gael and Cymbri," by Betham, p. 363.

look upon the traces of the Roman amelioration of Scotland before they shall have ceased to exist, let him proceed, while it is yet time, to visit the remains of the ancient *Vie* still to be observed in the parishes of Lanark, Stonehouse, Strathaven, Jedburgh, and Gask: for assuredly the years of many of them are numbered, and the "hold" of seventeen centuries is finally breaking away.







## CHAPTER IV.

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### THE WALL OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

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It has hitherto been our fortune to wander among the traces of Roman dominion, where the evidences of its once lofty predominance lie widely apart, and where the undoubted memorials of Roman settlement have been met with in comparatively few and scattered numbers. We at length, however, approach that richer field which extends, with apparently exhaustless stores, along the boundary line of ancient civilisation—preserving in its numerous relics an interesting memorial of those times when the legions of Italy, supported by the contingent bands of Western Europe, were assembled there, to oppose the daring hostility of the Caledonian Britons, with the power of superior science, and with the forcible energies of disciplined warfare.

For the last two hundred and fifty years, the site of the great northern rampart—known as the wall of Antoninus, from its having been constructed in his reign—has commanded the attention of not a few amongst those of our national antiquaries whose ardour led them to penetrate the recesses of the land—

“Where the proud Queen of Wilderness hath placed,  
By lake and cataract, her lonely throne.”

And seldom, since the eye of the inquiring visitant first rested on the dilapidated traces of this ancient barrier, have many years been added in succession to the “measure” of its age, without one accidental circumstance or another exposing to light some fresh memorials of its Roman constructors; whose individual names appear at times before us, in sculpture as fresh as if the work of recent years, while the grandeur of their united labours has crumbled into dust.

Among the principal authors who have personally visited and published the result of their observations on the Wall of Antoninus, the earliest, we believe, on record is Timothy Pont. He travelled into this country from England during the reign of James the Sixth, and apparently some few years prior to the accession of that sovereign to the throne of England.<sup>a</sup> At the period of his visit, the vestiges of the Roman works were, of course, in a much more perfect state than they have been for, at least, the last eighty or ninety years, although they probably continued, down to the middle of last century, in much the same condition as he beheld them. Pont appears to have gone along the whole line of the Wall in a spirit of ardent inquiry; but, as his journey occurred at a period when the discovery of its concealed remains had as yet been of little importance, his observations chiefly refer to the number and position of the various forts which had been erected upon its course, and towards which he was apparently the first to direct attention. The next visitor we hear of is Dr. Irvine. He appeared on the scene in 1686,<sup>b</sup> anxious for discovery, and not unsuccessful in its pursuit—especially in tracing the vestiges of Roman fortification, in positions little if at all noticed before his time, and from which they were soon after destined to disappear. We shall by and by have occasion to refer to some of his remarks, as well as to those of his predecessor Timothy Pont. The learned Camden wrote on the subject of the Wall of Antoninus about the same time as Pont; Sir R. Sibbald and others referred to its antiquities at a later period; but the next author who appears before us, with the collected results of an accurate personal survey, is Gordon—the “Sandy Gordon” of the far-famed Monkbarns.

Gordon effected his observations on the Roman remains of the district in or about the year 1726, while employed, it is said, in preparing a survey of the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde; with a view to the formation of a canal, which had been thus early proposed, for the purpose of connecting the opposite seas. His work is particularly valuable to the antiquary, on account of the minute attention with which he inspected the ruins of the mural stations, and of the industry he has shown in making himself acquainted with every object of interest which had been discovered in their vicinity.<sup>c</sup> We

<sup>a</sup> Sibbald *Histor. Inq.* p. 27.

<sup>b</sup> See Chalm. *Caled.* I. p. 118.

<sup>c</sup> His book is now very scarce, and is but rarely to be met with in the hands of a dealer. The reader of the “*Antiquary*” will remember the scene where Oldbuck names the volume to his fellow-traveller Lovel.

derive much curious information from Gordon : his volume forms, indeed, the chief source to which the majority of subsequent writers have more or less had recourse, and bears, in this respect, a very interesting character. With superior learning, and perhaps equal zeal, the Rev. Mr. Horsley entered the field in 1729 or 1730. His researches throughout the Island in general were very extensive; but, as regards the antiquities of our Northern Wall, he adds nothing of material importance to the discoveries of his predecessors.\*

To General Roy we are indebted for the best topographical account ever produced of the Wall of Antoninus, and of the numerous defensive posts erected on its line. Roy was an officer of considerable repute, possessed of great experience in military engineering, and imbued with that fervent attachment to antiquarian pursuits which induced him, on every favourable opportunity, to employ his talents in securing accurate surveys of the principal Roman works existing in Scotland, at the time when his public engagements called him into this part of the Island. The nature of his professional duties seems to have been, on more than one occasion, remarkably well adapted to the accomplishment of such a purpose. We are not aware of the length of time which he spent in this country; but it would appear that the most of his antiquarian researches were carried on during the ten years subsequent to that of the last Rebellion, (1745,) and while he was employed by the Government of George II. on various extensive surveys to the north of the Tweed.

From education and otherwise, Roy was possessed of many advantages over all who went before him in elucidating the distinctive character of the Roman military works. In theory, he had as perfect a knowledge as professional study could command of the various *minutiae* which regulated the engineering tactics of the ancient world; while, in the actual practice of those necessary qualities which must be cultivated alike by the soldier of every age—the power of forming a proper choice of ground, and that of occupying it to the best advantage—he may be regarded as on a par with the men who directed the execution of those defensive ramparts to which so much of his own attention had been devoted. On these accounts, his topographical researches have, independent of their accuracy, a peculiar value which few of

\* Maitland the historian and Dr. Stukely have likewise published descriptive accounts of the Roman works along the isthmus.

a similar nature can be said to possess, as his knowledge of the subject has often enabled him to complete, from mere fragments, the restoration of an entire plan, in cases where the less fully initiated have either stumbled upon erroneous views, or have altogether avoided such attempts.

But, however valuable in another sense, the inquiries of Roy made little addition to those lists of discovered remains which were given to the public by Gordon and Horsley; nor, since the time when their several volumes appeared, has anything of a comprehensive nature been published on the subject. It consequently happens that the many curious discoveries of later years are comparatively unknown—doomed, within learned walls, to a second buried seclusion, apparently not much less impenetrable than the first; or dispersed abroad in solitary nooks and corners, with very little chance of being “known to fame.” The late professor Anderson of Glasgow did, indeed, at one period, devote a considerable portion of his leisure hours in tracing the course of the Roman Wall, and in aiding to preserve whatever fragments the chances and changes of his time were drawing forth from their long concealment. He had many favourable opportunities of indulging his curiosity, while the sites of some of the ancient *Prætenturæ* were being laid open during the formation of the Great Canal—hence it not infrequently occurred that his researches were rewarded to the full measure of his expectations; but we are not aware that the learned professor ever courted the publicity of publication, in so far at least as regarded the result of his antiquarian pursuits; for although he has left a considerable body of manuscript on the subject of our Roman antiquities,\* he does not appear to have favoured the world with any of his observations through the medium of the press, excepting in some few instances, when he was induced to contribute from his own stores to assist in the inquiries of others.

It happens then that, for upwards of a century, nothing has been offered to the public, with regard to the Wall of Antoninus, which can be said to connect a general view of its existing remains with anything like a complete account of the various discoveries effected on its track. A complete account may, certainly, not be attainable, where much has no doubt perished without observation; but we have every reason to know that there is room for a little

\* These MSS. are preserved in the Library of the Andersonian University at Glasgow—of which he was the founder.

“fresh discourse” upon the subject, although at the same time we feel certain that the task of entering upon it has not fallen into the most able hands. Since the times of Gordon and Horsley, numerous are the changes which have occurred along the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde—all tending in some degree to increase our knowledge of the tale, involved amid the fading traces of the Roman wall. Of those changes the most important are the alterations which were occasioned by the formation of the Great Canal, and by the more recent construction of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway. The lines of both these important works are in several places carried across the track of the ancient *Vallum*: at one or two points, indeed, they proceed on a parallel with, and almost directly along it. The consequence is, that many of the old *Prætentura* have entirely disappeared before the restless activity of modern times, which has seldom, however, been exerted upon their ramparts without exposing to view some occasional memorials of their Roman defenders. In one sense, the antiquary may be inclined to regret the discovery of those relics, which have only appeared while the last traces of the ancient entrenchments were being swept from the scene. He will not join with the Italian poet in saying,

“Quanto è piu lacera, tanto è piu bella.”

But certainly, if anything can tend to make amends for their destruction, it must be the rescuing from oblivion of those *reliquiæ majorum*—the sculptured altar and sepulchral stone, which otherwise might have long continued hidden in the “lap of earth.” Besides the disclosures made during the progress of the two great undertakings referred to, many others have recently occurred, arising from the spread of agricultural improvement; so that the last seventy or eighty years have, in fact, contributed in a much greater degree to the class of antiquities now under consideration, than did apparently the entire century and a half which Mr. Gordon had to fall back upon. But as we shall endeavour to chronicle, in the following pages, every little detail of interest which is associated with the antiquities of the Northern Wall, we believe that, without any farther introductory remarks, the value and interesting character of these later discoveries will be sufficiently apparent.

The narrowest part of the isthmus, extending between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, presents, for the most part, the appearance of a great valley, bounded on the north by the successive ranges of the Kilpatrick, the Campsie,

and the Kilsyth Hills; and on the south, by a chain of rising grounds of trifling elevation; excepting at one or two points about the centre, where—in the vicinity of Croy—they shoot upwards to a considerable height. While, however, the lesser acclivities continue, with but few intervals, to skirt the southern side of the valley, along its whole extent from sea to sea, the opposite barrier of mountains disappears, or rather recedes into the distance, as it stretches to the eastward, leaving in its stead that rich extent of plain, so well known as the Carse of Falkirk. The valley itself exhibits considerable variety of surface; in some places it is flat and marshy, in others undulating, and broken in upon by numerous rising grounds which project from either side; but, generally speaking, those distinctive features are strikingly apparent, which show it to have been, at some remote period, the bed of an inland lake—if not, in reality, of the sea itself.<sup>a</sup>

It was chiefly along the summits of the gentle heights which form the southern boundary of this valley that the Romans had formed the line of their Caledonian Wall.<sup>b</sup> Agricola, as formerly mentioned, was the first of the Imperial Lieutenants who had an opportunity of discovering the value, in a military point of view, of the position in question. He could only, however, partially avail himself of its advantages, as the spirit of action seems to have been ever urging him forward; and when he crowned a number of the most favourably situated acclivities with the palisaded ramparts of his forts—forming a line of well-defended stations between the two seas—he probably did all which time and circumstances permitted to secure the benefit of such a frontier. It was left, therefore, to the next of the Roman generals, who entered the territories of the *Damii*, to avail himself effectually of the natural advantages of the ground, by erecting a continuous barrier of defence across the entire neck of land, so as to protect the better parts of the country from the inroads of the Caledonians. This general, already frequently alluded to, was Lollius Urbicus, the Legate of Antoninus Pius. Whatever may have been his designs with regard to the conquest of the more northerly districts, he seems, at an early period of his progress, to have resolved on fortifying the

<sup>a</sup> A straight line, drawn between the two Firths at their nearest points of approach, would, in round numbers, measure thirty miles.

<sup>b</sup> So called, to distinguish it from the other works of a similar nature in the North of England.

isthmus of the Forth and Clyde—determined, by such means, to secure those parts of the country which he had first overrun; while, by so doing, he should be enabled to lead forward a larger body of troops into other fields of discovery and “fame.” With this view, he constructed a chain of forts, extending along the rising grounds to the south of the continuous valley; and so placed, that although the respective distances between them varied a little according to the nature of the ground, they were each in sight of the next adjoining, right and left, with an exception, of course, in regard to those at the two extremities. On the completion of these fortresses—for, doubtless, they formed the first portion of the work—it became necessary to connect them by means of such a curtain or wall as should secure the open intervals against the sudden foray by day, or the stealthy passage by night, of the active and daring Britons. This was effected in the completion of that great rampart and ditch, along the last traces of which we are preparing to pass.

It is exceedingly probable that many of the fortresses erected by Urbicus were built upon the ruins of those constructed by Agricola.<sup>a</sup> There is every reason, indeed, to believe, that two men of great military talent, belonging to the same school, and actuated by a similarity of purpose, would be most likely to select, where the choice was not great, a number of localities in common for the establishment of their defensive stations. Some authors, however—Professor Anderson among the rest<sup>b</sup>—have been inclined to discover the remains of Agricola’s forts in a number of artificial mounds situated at some distance beyond the Wall.<sup>c</sup> It is unnecessary to enter into any disquisitions on a subject of so much uncertainty; but when we find some of the circular *tumuli*, such as that of Be-castle<sup>d</sup>—situated on the northern side of the valley, and at the base of commanding hills—referred to as the probable sites of Agricola’s frontier posts, we must either give those opinions to the winds, or be prepared to question the perfect sanity of that famed commander, at the moment when he thought of establishing any one of his *Castella* in a situation so completely exposed to the attacks of the enemy, and so excluded, by what

<sup>a</sup> Horsley, p. 159—Gough’s *Camd.* p. 358.

<sup>b</sup> See his MS. vol. in the Andersonian University, Glasgow—and Gordon *Itin.* p. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Nimmo, in his *Hist. of Stirlingshire*, (p. 633,) supposes many of these to have been mere advanced stations.

<sup>d</sup> See Gordon *Itin.* p. 21.



must have been the extensive marshes between it and the Bar Hill, from any ready communication with the South. Instead of denoting the position occupied by the garrisons of Agricola, we should consider it much more probable that the line of artificial mounds, situated to the north of the valley, were raised and occupied by the Caledonians as posts of observation, at some period or other, while the great rampart opposite glittered with the standards of its Roman warders.

The allusions to the Caledonian Wall to be met with in the writings of the ancients are very limited in number, and, on that account, the few we have may be considered the more valuable. The only Roman historian who refers to its original construction is Julius Capitolinus, who flourished towards the middle of the third century. In his life of Antoninus Pius he states, after noticing some other wars carried on by his lieutenants, that that Emperor subdued the Britons by means of his legate Lollius Urbicus, and removed the barbarians to a greater distance by raising another "cespitiuous"<sup>a</sup> wall across the island.<sup>b</sup> From this we observe, that the author was aware there had already been one such wall constructed before his time—namely, that formed by the Emperor Hadrian between the Firth of Solway and the river Tyne; and that the rampart of Urbicus was not built of stone, like the one subsequently erected by Severus, but composed merely of the common materials thrown from the ditch. We shall see, as we proceed, how well the statement of Capitolinus is borne out by some of the inscriptions discovered in modern times.<sup>c</sup> From the era of Antonine, we hear nothing more of his Wall until the accession of Commodus to the seat of empire, in the year 180; soon after which its power of resistance seems to have proved inadequate against the headlong impetuosity of the Caledonian Britons.<sup>d</sup> This was probably the first of a numerous series of attacks, which, during the two succeeding centuries, propelled the tide of war upon the terrified inhabitants of the Roman province. Herodian informs us, when writing on the northern expedition of

<sup>a</sup> The word "cespitiuous" means that the rampart was made of turf and earth, or of other materials thrown promiscuously from the fosse—Roy, p. 156.

<sup>b</sup> *Vit. Anton. Pii. Script. Hist. Aug.* p. 132. Horsley (p. 52) supposes this wall to have been raised A.D. 140—Gordon, (p. 50,) in 144.

<sup>c</sup> Bede states that *Murus* signified a wall of stone—*Vallum*, a rampart of turf—(v. Sibbald Hist. Inq. p. 3.) This is disproved, however, by the expression of Capitolinus, who has it "*Muro cespitiuo*"—a waste of words, had "*Vallo*" been sufficient to express his meaning.

<sup>d</sup> Xiphil. Lib. LXXII.

the Emperor Severus, that, on all things being prepared for his advance, the aged sovereign, leaving his younger son Geta in that part of the island already subdued, set forward with the eldest, Caracalla, into the enemy's country—crossing the rivers and *ramparts* which separated the unconquered Britons from the Roman province.<sup>a</sup> Some authors have conjectured that the ramparts here mentioned were those belonging to Hadrian's *Vallum*;<sup>b</sup> we see no reason, however, for believing that the whole of VALENTIA had been, by that time, abandoned to the northern tribes, and should rather suppose the passage in question to refer to the Wall of Antoninus; since we are again told, that, after passing those ramparts, the Emperor found himself in a most difficult country, covered with woods and fens, and totally impassable, until his army had cut down the one, and, in some measure, drained the other—a description scarcely applicable, we should think, to the southern part of Scotland, which had, by that time, been for a considerable period in the possession of the Roman colonists, as the remains of many of their stations have shown. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that the words of Herodian allude to the defences raised along' our northern isthmus; and, if such be the case, they form one additional link, among the few which remain to us of their historical existence.

Sibbald, on no good authority, avers that the *Prætentura* between Forth and Clyde were repaired and occupied by the usurper Carausius, who assumed the purple in Britain about the year 284. Could we depend on the authority of Ossian, this might appear probable enough; for undoubtedly by his “Caros king of ships” is meant no other than the *ci-devant* admiral of the Roman fleet Carausius; and if that ambitious spirit did actually bid defiance to the heroes of Arden behind his “gathered heap” on the “streamy Carun,”<sup>c</sup> who will doubt the fact of his having contributed to restore the ancient strength of the Roman Wall? But—alas! for its confirmation—the songs of our Gaelic Homer have been so much assailed by what is called the “withering” spirit of doubt, that we fear to bring him on the field—even with Sir Robert Sibbald in the van.

The last allusion of any Roman author, which can, with the least degree of

<sup>a</sup> “*Transgresso igitur Romano exercitu amnes aggresque eos qui objecti Barbaris Romanorum fines determinant*”—Lat. trans. Lib. III.

<sup>b</sup> See Horsley, p. 60.

<sup>c</sup> See “The War of Caros—a poem.”

certainly, be applied to the chain of military works originally constructed by Urbicus, brings us down to the joint reign of Valentinian and Valens. At that period the provincial part of the island was greatly distressed by the Picts, Scots, and other enemies, and the Roman general Theodosius was sent thither to repel their inroads. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, he arrived in Britain in the year 367;<sup>a</sup> and, after driving back the assailants, he repaired, we are told, the towns and *Prætenturæ*, erected some new forts, and finally named the recovered province VALENTIA, in honour of his sovereign Valentinian.<sup>b</sup> As mentioned in our second chapter,<sup>c</sup> the Wall of Antoninus is believed to have been again repaired in the reign of Honorius, towards the close of the fourth century; and, for the last time, by the provincial inhabitants about the year 416: from which period, down to the sixteenth century, we learn nothing whatever of its history—of no eye that looked with curiosity on its winding rampart—nor of any pilgrim step that had been directed towards its ruined forts. The *Picti* and their allies made very light, no doubt, of this frowning barrier, long before the final departure of the Legions; and, when these were gone, it was probably the employment of the natives to destroy whatever was thought likely to repay them for their trouble. The venerable Bede, in the eighth, and Richard of Cirencester, in the fourteenth century, both refer to the construction of the Wall, but say nothing of its condition in their respective eras. We gather, therefore, no farther accounts regarding it, until we descend to the days of Timothy Pont, and of his successors in the paths of antiquarian research.

It is time, however, to say a few words as to the nature and supposed appearance of the work itself—gleaned from the accounts transmitted to our times by those who were so fortunate as to examine its remains when in a much more perfect state than now. This great military work, then, consisted, in the first place, of an immense fosse or ditch—averaging about forty feet in width by some twenty in depth—which extended over hill and plain, in one unbroken line, from sea to sea. Behind this ditch, on its southern side, and within a few feet of its edge, was raised a rampart of intermingled stone and earth, strengthened by sods of turf; which measured, it is supposed,

<sup>a</sup> Lib. XXVII. c. viii.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. XXVIII. c. iii.

<sup>c</sup> Although, for the sake of perspicuity, we have made use of the term when referring to earlier times, it was only at the above late period that the name VALENTIA was applied to the Southern province.

about twenty feet in height, and twenty-four in thickness at the base.<sup>a</sup> This rampart or *agger* was surmounted by a parapet, behind which ran a level platform, for the accommodation of its defenders.<sup>b</sup> To the southward of the whole was situated the Military Way—a regular causewayed road, about twenty feet wide—which kept by the course of the wall at irregular distances, approaching in some places to within a few yards, and in others receding to a considerable extent. Along the entire line, from West Kilpatrick to Carriden, there were established, it is believed, Nineteen principal stations or forts; we cannot be quite certain of the number, because, towards the east end of the wall, the traces of their existence have, for two centuries at least, been either very indistinct or entirely obliterated. Calculating by those whose remains have been plainly perceptible, the mean distance between each may be stated at rather more than two English miles.<sup>c</sup> Along these intervals were placed many smaller *Castella* or watch-towers, of which only some two or three could be observed in the year 1755.<sup>d</sup> While the continuous rampart seems to have been little more than a well-formed earthen mound, it is probable that many, if not all of the stations, were either revetted with stone or entirely built of that material. In some places it would even appear that the *Vallum* itself had been raised upon a stone foundation—probably in situations where the ground was low and marshy, and where it was necessary to form drains beneath the works, to prevent the accumulation of water on their interior side.<sup>e</sup> Roy supposes the ditch to have constituted the chief strength of the whole, and seems to consider the *agger* itself as having been of very secondary importance. He was evidently led to this opinion from the insignificant appearance which even the best preserved of its sections presented when he saw them; it must, however, be remembered, as a circumstance highly probable, that the rampart was, in course of time, much more liable to be demolished than the fosse to be filled up—hence, perhaps, the distinct appearance of the one compared with that of the other. It may here be remarked, that the ditch of our northern wall was considerably more extensive, and the stations along its line placed at shorter intervals from each other, than was the case with regard to the entrenchment of Severus.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Chalm. Caled. I. p. 117, Note—Roy, p. 156.

<sup>b</sup> See PLATE VII.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, p. 164.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* p. 156.

<sup>e</sup> Such drains had actually been formed in several places, as will be afterwards noticed.

<sup>f</sup> v. Horsley, pp. 163 and 164.

The actual length of the Wall of Antoninus has given rise, like most antiquarian subjects, to no little controversy. According to Bede, it extended all the way from the ancient monastery of Abercorn to Dumbarton.<sup>a</sup> A series of detached *Castella* may very probably have connected its actual *termini* with both those points; but, from what is known to have been at any time visible of its remains, and from any discoveries made between the two seas, we cannot but conclude that the *Vallum* of Urbicus, as a continuous work, had ended on the one side at Carriden near Borrowstoness, and on the other at West Kilpatrick. Upon this supposition the entire length of the work was about twenty-seven English miles.<sup>b</sup>

A considerable diversity, both in size and appearance, existed among the various stations along the line. Some were comparatively small and slightly fortified; others on the contrary had been surrounded by a numerous succession of ramparts and ditches; while the extensive foundations of buildings, at one time visible in and around several of them, told plainly of their former importance as military stations. In the neighbourhood of more than one of those stations the remains of this kind were, a century ago, so numerous, that we might almost suppose their localities to have been the sites of little military towns or villages which had sprung up under the protection of the adjacent forts; this seems to have been more particularly the case at Castlecary, which is thought, indeed, to have been a place of no small consequence in ancient times.

From that period, when all distinct recollection of the Roman name had been extinguished among the various races of men who here became conquerors in their turn, the far-extending vestiges of the ancient *Vallum* have, no doubt, been often the source of much curiosity and wonder to the people of the districts through which it passed; but when everything else connected with its original history had been forgotten, the name by which it was known to the early Gael appears to have still survived; and survives, we believe, to the present day, although in a corrupted form, among the inhabitants who reside in the vicinity of its track. To the "Roman Wall," the majority of them

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camd.* p. 388. Bede says from Abercurnig to Alcluith. We shall briefly return to the subject when arrived at Carriden.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, whose measurements agree pretty accurately both with those of Gordon and Horsley, makes it exactly 27 English miles, less 282 yards, i.e. about 40 Roman miles—*v.* Roy, p. 155—Gordon, p. 64—Horsley, p. 160.

will be found absolute strangers; but ask the ploughman at his team to indicate the position of *Graham's Dyke*, and you at once find him upon well-known ground. There is an apochryphal story told, by the historian Buchanan and others, respecting an ancestor of the "gallant Grahams," who broke with his followers through the Roman defences, and left his name to be handed down to posterity indissolubly connected with the works which he overthrew. Many a highland chieftain of old may certainly have gloried in such a deed; but we must look to a far earlier period, we suspect, for the actual origin of the term, than belongs even to the most distant annals of our clannish nomenclature. Not a few authors have been at a loss to account for the application of such a name to the rampart of Antonine—nor, so long as they held by their Saxon partialities, was this at all surprising;<sup>a</sup> but whenever we retreat, as it were, upon the language of the aboriginal *Celtæ*—the men who beheld the mighty barrier in its pristine strength—the explanation becomes easy, and every difficulty may be said to vanish. The appellation of "Graham's Dyke" appears, in short, to be simply a corruption of the Gaelic words *grym*, strength—or *greim*, a place of strength—and *diog*, a trench or rampart; *greim diog*, therefore, signifies the "strong entrenchment"—and this is evidently the true etymology of the term: nor is there any great diversity of sound between the Saxon and the Gaelic expressions:<sup>b</sup> and here, as in many other instances, does the language of the early Britons "show" through the obscurity which has in after ages gathered around it—often so corrupted

<sup>a</sup> Camden, for instance, imagined that the modern name of the Wall might have been derived from its vicinity to the Grampian Hills!—*v. Gough's Edit. III. p. 356.* Hearn, on the other hand, connects it with the words *Grumæ* or *Gromæ*, which he says were used to designate the boundaries of provinces. *See his edit. of Newbridge, III. p. 756.*

<sup>b</sup> On this subject we have been favoured, through the medium of a friend, with a note from Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-Arms, and well known for his valuable and learned researches into the early history of the Celtic people. He says, on the subject of "Graham's Dyke"—"The Anglicism of the chieftain Graham is out of the question—it never could have been the true etymology. It was no doubt a corruption of some Gaelic phrase, expressive of the nature of the fortification. *Gream* or *Greim*, is a hold, security, fortification, defence. *Greamaghaim*, the verb, is, I hold, secure, gripe, defend. *Diog* or *Dig* is a ditch, trench, wall, rampart. *Dioghaim*, I entrench, inclose, secure. This appears a natural and fair definition of the name, and I am inclined to think it the correct one."—[Dublin, 21st March, 1844.]

A similar appellative is not unknown in England—*e.g.* "Grimesditch" in Cheshire; which probably denotes the site of some ancient stronghold.

as to be with difficulty recognised, but bearing through all changes the genuine impress of a remote descent.

In proceeding to take a somewhat methodical survey of its existing traces, and of the various remains of antiquity which have been exhumed along the course of the Wall, we shall set forth, with the reader's permission, from the site of the ancient Theodosia, or rather from that of the lofty *Pharos*, which, from the highest pinnacle of the adjoining rock, presented, we may believe, its nightly signal of protection to the inhabitants below, and its star of welcome import to the pilot of "other days." The rock of Dumbarton had, by all their successors, been so generally coveted as a post of defence, and, previous to the introduction of artillery, could be so easily rendered, in a measure, impregnable, that we cannot imagine its advantages to have been neglected by the Romans, little as they were accustomed to look to such positions for the establishment of their fortified posts; but when we likewise take into consideration the value of its isolated summit as a point of observation, a species of conjecture, nearly allied to certainty, leads us to regard it as the first of the military stations which extended from the neighbourhood of Theodosia to the Firth of Forth.

It has been already remarked, that the consecutive works of the Wall terminated, in all probability, at West Kilpatrick.<sup>a</sup> The narrow belt of land which lies between that village and the mouth of the river Leven was certainly by no means well calculated for the position of such an entrenchment—overlooked as it is, for a great part of the distance, by a range of considerable heights, which, at some points, encroach very closely upon the river Clyde.<sup>b</sup> The low grounds immediately around Dumbarton Castle were, no doubt, at the distant era of the Roman occupation, either entirely submerged, or liable to be so with every tide; even within these few centuries the rock was frequently surrounded by water; from which we may conclude, that in ancient times the alluvial plain between Dumbarton and Dunglass was entirely of a marshy character, and incapable of being traversed by a continuous ditch and rampart. It would appear, however, that along this plain the Romans had constructed a line of detached forts; doubtless with the double object of securing the passage of the river, and of protecting the line of communication between their municipal town on the Leven, and the mural station of West Kilpatrick.

<sup>a</sup> v. Camd. Gough's Edit. III. pp. 356 and 358.

<sup>b</sup> See Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 105.

With regard to those garrison posts which united the supposed extremity of the wall with the town of Theodosia, we learn that, in the year 1686, Dr. Irvine observed, as follows:—At the town of Dumbarton, the remains of a great Roman fort—the vestiges of another at the Castle, half a mile distant—those of a third at the foot of Dumbuck-hill, a mile more to the east—of a fourth at Dunglass—and of a fifth on the Chapel-Hill, at West Kilpatrick, which was, we conceive, the last of the stations *per lineam valli*.<sup>a</sup> He makes no mention of any traces of the ditch as being visible between that point and the river Leven; nor can we believe that such had ever existed, notwithstanding what Bishop Gibson states in his edition of Camden; where it is roundly asserted, without any attempt at proof, that the wall had been continued as far as Dumbarton.<sup>b</sup>

Not a vestige now remains either of these forts or of the Military Way which passed in their vicinity; although, about a century ago, some portion of the latter was visible on the grounds of Glenarbach, within half a mile of Dunglass.<sup>c</sup> The present turnpike road passes, most probably, very near to what was the line of this *Via*. The first of those *tumuli*, formerly mentioned, which ran along the north side of the valley, and which, strangely enough, were supposed to have been occupied by Agricola, was observed by Gordon, on the banks of a small stream called Cressick-water,<sup>d</sup> which flows from the heights to the westward of Kilpatrick. It was of a circular form, sixty feet in height; and was, at the distance of a few hundred yards, completely overlooked, if not altogether commanded, by the adjoining hills. The ruins of Dunglass Castle have long been regarded as resting upon the foundations of a Roman fort;<sup>e</sup> perhaps they do, in reality, occupy the site of one of the ancient *Castella*; but that any traces of Roman masonry are still to be found there, as is sometimes averred, we must be permitted very much to doubt. Between this spot and the village of Kilpatrick, the high lands approach so closely to the north bank of the river, that it must have cost the Roman soldiery much unceasing vigilance to

<sup>a</sup> See Sibbald's Hist. Inquiries, p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> P. 1292.

<sup>c</sup> Horsley, p. 159. He calls it "Dunnerbuck," which may have been the former name of the place, as Glenarbach is certainly meant. Some slight traces of an old road still exist in that neighbourhood, supposed to be a part of the ancient Way; but this is a matter of uncertainty.

<sup>d</sup> Itin. Sept. p. 20.

<sup>e</sup> This dilapidated fortalice is erroneously supposed to have been blown up while Cromwell was in Scotland. The Dunglass then demolished was situated near Dunbar—e. Gough's Camd. III. p. 307.



prevent the natives from crossing it at any of the numerous fords which are supposed to have existed above Dunglass; from this circumstance, it is by no means unlikely that some additional forts may have stood between that rocky point and the termination of the Wall.

Like the "pious" Æneas, after many deviations by the way, we reach at length the "Cumæan borders" of our journey. Doomed however to follow, as it were, a still-retreating phantom, we must beg of the reader to tarry for a moment—not amid actual ruins, palpable and present, but among the storied recollections only of things that were. As the course which we propose to follow commences on the Clyde, it will be most convenient to number the mural stations from West to East, although it is supposed that the works of the Wall had been proceeded with in a contrary direction. We reach the supposed site of the first, therefore, of the Roman *Prætenturæ*, at the Chapel-hill, distant about a quarter of a mile on the west from the village of KILPATRICK. Here we may, with little hesitation, believe ourselves to be standing over the hidden foundations of its ramparts, perhaps even over the still-existing granaries or other vaulted chambers of the legionary cohorts which had been quartered within its walls.' That early explorer, Pont, has most distinctly stated that the Wall had its commencement near the "Kirk of Kirkpatrick,"<sup>a</sup> from which the Chapel-hill is but a short way distant. In this opinion Roy<sup>b</sup> and several others coincide; but should any doubt exist upon the subject, it will be sufficient, perhaps, for its removal, to point to the various discoveries which have been made either on the Chapel-hill or in its immediate vicinity.

It does not appear that any distinct remains of the Roman works have ever, in modern times, been visible about West Kilpatrick. In that, as in several other localities, the settlement of a considerable population, and the consequent spread of agriculture, have, no doubt, been the principal causes of their entire disappearance. Occasionally, however—as if to present from age to age some fresh memorials of the Roman era—the operations of the husbandman have there been productive of, to him, unlooked for results, in exposing to view the fragments of ancient buildings, scattered underground, and sculptures of singular appearance, expressive of other times—to be

<sup>a</sup> v. Sibbald Hist. Inq. p. 29. He also mentions that there was another Roman fort at Erskine, on the opposite side of the Clyde.

<sup>b</sup> P. 157.

heard of only in the most remote tradition. But owing to the entire demolition of its remains, before the attention of any antiquarian author had been attracted towards the spot, we can say nothing of the form, size, or construction of that one, among the stations erected by Urbicus, which looked down, it is said, from the Chapel-hill of Kilpatrick on the once "silver current" of the Clyde. We must therefore be satisfied with a passing glance at the presumed evidences of its former existence, to be met with in those monumental records of their labours which the soldiery of the Roman legions had abandoned on their retreat.

The first of these to be noticed are two tabular stones, found on the Chapel-hill, and presented to the University of Glasgow by Mr. Hamilton of Orbiston in the year 1695.<sup>a</sup> They both bear what are called Legionary Inscriptions—that is, inscriptions raised either by an entire legion, or by some portion of a legion, and in which its number and distinctive titles are invariably recorded. The stones referred to—as was the case with many others we shall afterwards have occasion to mention—were erected to commemorate the building of the Wall, and at the same time to perpetuate the memory of Antoninus Pius, the then wise and enlightened ruler of the Roman world. The one inscription is as follows—the upright capitals presenting an exact transcript of the original, and those in Italics an explanation of the contractions:—

IMP · C · T · AELIO  
HADRIANO · ANTO  
NINO · AVG · P · P ·  
VEX · LEG · VI · VIC ·  
P · F · OPVS · VALLI  
P ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ C · XLI

*IMPERATORI CAESARI TITO AELIO  
HADRIANO ANTONINO  
AUGUSTO, PATRI PATRIAE,  
VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS SEXTAE VICTRICIS  
PERFECIT<sup>b</sup> OPUS VALLI (PEX)  
PASSUS, QUATUOR MILLE CENTUM  
QUADRAGINTA UNUM*

Announcing that the "Vexillation" of the sixth legion, surnamed "the Victorious,"<sup>c</sup> erected the said tablet in honour of the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus,<sup>d</sup> the father of his country—having accomplished,

<sup>a</sup> v. N. Stat. Acc. Dumbartonshire, p. 21.

<sup>b</sup> The word *perfecit* is translated by Gordon (p. 62) "carried on." Might we not rather say "perfected" or "finished?" Let this be granted, and no doubt will remain as to the Wall of Antoninus having terminated about Kilpatrick.

<sup>c</sup> More properly "the Vanquisher," if the word could, in the English language, be applied to a Legion.

<sup>d</sup> The *praenomina* of *Aelius Hadrianus* were assumed by Antoninus on his adoption by the Emperor Hadrian.

in the formation of the Wall, a portion of work to the extent of 4141 paces.<sup>a</sup> A part of the other has been broken off and lost; from what remains, however, there is no difficulty in supplying the deficiency, excepting, of course, as regards the numerals which had preceded the D X I in the concluding line—we give it as we gave the first:—

--MP·C·T·AE.  
-ADRIANO  
-NTONINO  
--G·PIO·P·P·  
--EG·XXVV  
----DXI

IMPERATORI CAESARI TITO AE-  
LIO HADRIANO  
ANTONINO  
AUGUSTO PIO, PATRI PATRIAE  
*Vexillatio* LEGIONIS VICESIMAE VALENTIS  
VICTRICIS  
*per passus* — — — DXI

The import of the legend is very similar to that of the former, with this difference, that the detachinent named in it had belonged to the Twentieth legion, instead of to the Sixth. As regards the amount of their labour we have only the fragmentary record of 511 paces. The reader will find an accurate representation of both stones in PLATE VII. (*Figs. 2 and 3.*)<sup>b</sup> On the latter is sculptured, in addition, a naked figure with wings, supposed to be a representation of Victory. The laurel wreath may still, it is imagined, be recognised on her brow, and the olive branch in her hand; it is difficult, however, to determine with any degree of certainty, as the carving has been much defaced; but if really meant for a "Victory," we certainly cannot say much in favour of her appearance.<sup>c</sup>

As these inscriptions happen to be the first we have met with of the peculiar class to which they belong, and as they are the forerunners of many others of a similar character, it may be proper to advert to a few particulars regarding them, which, being of somewhat general import in reference to those legionary relics, had better be disposed of before we permit their coming numbers to crowd on our attention. The stones now before us differ from any we have hitherto described, in the very important distinction of

<sup>a</sup> A trifle more than 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ th Roman miles. The length of the Roman mile was 1000 Roman paces.

<sup>b</sup> The drawings of the Roman inscriptions given in the accompanying plates are all upon the scale of ONE-TENTH of the originals, except in those cases where the figures  $\frac{1}{4}$ th is inserted under them. This only occurs, however, in some few instances, in which a reduction of the scale was found necessary.

<sup>c</sup> Like all the others discovered in Scotland, these inscriptions are engraved on blocks, or rather slabs of common freestone.

bearing on their fronts a positive record of the era to which they belong, and of the circumstances which led to their erection. They speak to us, if we may use the expression, of the days when the benignant Antonine adorned the Roman throne, and of the means adopted in his name to secure the tranquillity of his British possessions. It is an authenticated fact, as we formerly took occasion to mention, that, until the reign of Hadrian, the taste for raising inscriptions had been very partially, if at all, introduced among the Roman soldiery. From that period, however, it would seem to have acquired a considerable ascendancy among the provincial legions—continuing to maintain its ground with various degrees of popularity until the time of Caracalla; after whose reign it appears to have expired with a rapidity nearly equal to that which attended its rise. From a comparison of the various sculptures discovered throughout the Island, which contain what may be called the equivalents of a date, it is plainly to be perceived that their style and workmanship had both materially changed between the opening and the closing years of the interval referred to. The earlier inscriptions, in short, low as most of them may be regarded, are, with few exceptions, by far superior to the others as specimens of art—even in such trifling channels, had the gradual decline of the empire made its influence felt.

The principal difference to be observed among the Roman inscriptions of Britain, consists in the form of the letters, and in the manner in which they are cut. Throughout the more ancient class they are invariably better executed,<sup>a</sup> and accompanied with less ornament than are such as belong to later periods: they contain, besides, few or none of those so-called “tied letters”—two or more letters joined in one—which appear to have been so common about the time of Severus; their contractions are also more natural, and their contents, on the whole, much easier understood. In Scotland, we have no inscriptions which can be said, with certainty, to belong to an earlier period than the time of Antoninus Pius;<sup>b</sup> and it may be remarked, that very few among what we possess are so well executed as those which bear his name: this will appear evident by comparing some of the inscriptions formerly given with the two we have just taken notice of.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This is most apparent in the shape of the letters A, C, E, F, L, M, and N. In the earlier inscriptions they are formed very much in the same manner as at present: in those of a later date they are more rudely shaped—See Horsley's *Brit.* p. 189.

<sup>b</sup> Excepting, indeed, a small fragment found at Birrens which bears the name of HADRIAN.

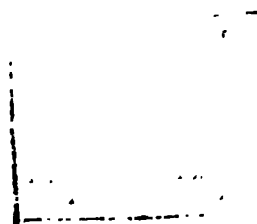
<sup>c</sup> *v.* Horsley, p. 189.

From these last, we learn that the *opus valli*—the work of the Wall—had been performed in separate sections; the most perfect of the two leading us to understand that a portion, exceeding four miles in length, had been completed by the *Vexillatio* of the Sixth Legion. As to the exact meaning of this word the learned world are not quite agreed; it is not to be found in Tacitus, nor in any of the earlier historians, with the exception of Suetonius, who makes use of it on one occasion, when referring to the murder of the emperor Galba.<sup>a</sup> *Vexillum* signified a “Standard”—*Vexillarius* or *Vexillifer*, a “standard bearer”—hence it has been supposed that the words *Vexillarii* and *Vexillatio* were somewhat synonymous terms. In those times, when its force was six thousand strong, the Roman Legion was divided into sixty “Centuries,” each containing one hundred men, and having its own *Vexillum* or standard, for the defence of which ten of the best soldiers amongst the number were selected, these ten being called the *Vexillarii* of the Century. If we multiply this number by that of the Centuries comprised in the legion, we shall have a force of six hundred chosen men—the appointed guardians of the Ensigns—who were known, *en masse*, as the *Vexillarii* of the Legion. Now, it has been thought that the *Vexillationes*, mentioned in our inscriptions, were merely the *Vexillarii* under a slightly different name—a conjecture by no means improbable, although, in this view, it must appear strange, that, in most instances, none but the very flower of his troops should have been employed by the Roman Legate in the laborious construction of the Wall. In the age of Vegetius, the word *Vexillatio* was used to signify an *Ala*, or wing of horse; this could not, however, have been its meaning in the days of Urbicus; and perhaps we should not be very far wrong, were we to assume that the Vexillation of a Legion held some such distinctive rank as that enjoyed by the grenadiers in our modern armies.<sup>b</sup>

The peculiar mark which stands at the bottom of the first inscription to denote the word *Mille*, a thousand, requires a moment's explanation. This figure, as Mr. Horsley remarks,<sup>a</sup> was probably nothing more than a slightly fanciful representation of two c's facing each other, and connected by an  $\times$  thus,  $c \times c$ , the signification of which would evidently be ten hundred; or as the  $\times$  in this position was frequently used by itself to denote a Thousand,

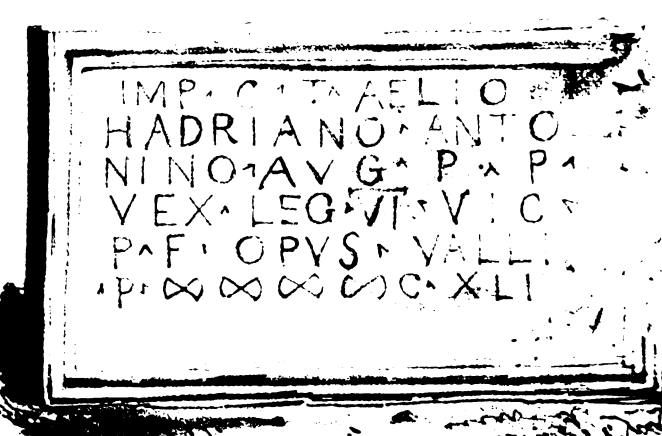
<sup>a</sup> Vit. Galb. c. xx.—Horsley, p. 97.

<sup>b</sup> See Horsley, pp. 96 and 97—Roy, p. 36, *et seq.*





PROFILE OF THE WALL AND DITCH.



we may perhaps suppose the marks alluded to, to be simply so many x's reversed, and disposed as we see them, at the fancy of the artist.

To proceed, however, with the discoveries effected about West Kilpatrick. The next in order is a stone of considerably higher pretensions than either of the others: it was likewise dug up on the Chapel-hill, and will be found delineated in PLATE VII. *Fig. 1.* There, within what may be called the mimic façade of a Corinthian portico, may be perceived the not inelegant form of a winged Victory, reclining with her left arm upon that emblem of empire, a globe; while in the one hand she holds a palm branch, and with the other points to, or rather touches an oaken wreath—the well-known *Corona Civica*, or Civic Crown. Within this wreath appears conspicuous the name of the Twentieth legion, the “Valiant and Victorious;” while, crowding the tympanum of the pediment above, are inscribed the usual names and titles of the Emperor Antoninus. On the pedestal may be observed the figure of a wild boar, apparently escaping, as if he heard the shouts of the Damnian huntsmen in pursuit—his course lying between the two divisions of the line, which records the number of paces accomplished in the formation of the Wall.

Instead of the peculiar figures formerly mentioned being made use of, the Military mark seems to be indicated, in this instance, by a transverse line which crosses above the four r's on the left of the pedestal.

Subjoined is a copy of the inscriptions, freed from the contractions, and accompanied by a literal translation:—

IMPERATORI CAESARI  
TITO AELIO HADRIANO  
ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO,  
PATRI PATRIAE

=====

VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS  
VICESIMAE VALENTIS  
VICTRICIS FECIT

=====

PER PASSUS, QUATUOR  
MILLE QUADRINGENTOS  
UNDECIM.

*To the Emperor Cæsar Titus Aelius  
Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius,  
the father of his country.*

=====

*The Vexillation of the Twentieth  
Legion, (surnamed) the Valiant and  
Victorious, performed*

=====

*Four thousand four hundred and  
eleven paces.\**

The carving upon this stone is tolerably well executed, although inferior

\* The c placed before the sign of five hundred (D) reduces it to four hundred.



to what appears on some of the others we shall meet with. It was presented to the College of Glasgow by the Marquis of Montrose some time about the year 1695,<sup>a</sup> and is now deposited, with many more of the same class, within the walls of the Hunterian Museum, an institution deservedly boasted of on the banks of the Clyde. How changed those banks since the time when Johnston sung:<sup>b</sup>—

“ Non te pontificum luxus, non insula tantum  
Ornavit, diri quæ tibi causa mali,  
Glottiadæ quantum decorant te, Glascula, musæ  
Quæ celsum attollunt clara sub astra caput,” &c.

Or, as the great Camden has it:—

“ Not priestly luxury, not priestly state,  
On thee, fair Glasgow, so much fame confer;  
Rather to them is due thy wretched fate,  
Thy brightest boast the Glottan Muses (!) are;  
These raise thy lofty head above the skies.”

It is extremely probable, should any excavations be made in the Chapel-hill of Kilpatrick, that many other relics of the Roman occupation will be met with. A portion of its base was removed in the year 1790, in excavating the line of the Forth and Clyde Canal, when a subterranean recess, containing a number of earthen vases and Roman coins, was laid open.<sup>c</sup> The view from this rising ground is very extensive, and sufficiently commanding to satisfy the visitor, that, independent of the evidence to be derived from the discoveries mentioned, it may with great probability be fixed upon as the site of the first of the Wall Stations.

The three inscriptions just taken notice of were discovered, it is most likely, about the same period. We find them, at all events, to have been severally deposited in the University of Glasgow in or about the year 1695, which makes it not improbable that they were brought to light during some building or other operations; when perhaps the ground above the foundations of the Roman ramparts had been for the first time turned up. Since that period no additions have been made from the neighbourhood of West Kilpatrick to the existing collection of legionary stones.

<sup>a</sup> N. Stat. Acc. Old Kilpatrick P.—See also Horsley, p. 194—and Gordon, p. 50.

<sup>b</sup> *Temp.* James VI.

<sup>c</sup> N. Stat. Acc.

Other opportunities will occur of referring to the services of the Legions mentioned in those inscriptions, and more especially to what is known of their joint labours upon the Wall; meantime, as there is nothing else to detain us about West Kilpatrick, we may proceed towards DUNTOCHER, where stood of old the second of the stations *per lineam valli*. Between these two points scarcely a trace of the Roman works can now be seen. On the farm of Carleith, about a mile from Kilpatrick, and on the lands of Auchentoshan, still farther to the eastward, the hollow line of the fosse is supposed to be faintly discernible. With these exceptions, the operations of the plough have entirely effaced every vestige of its existence—so much so, that, but for earlier surveys, the course of the Wall between Kilpatrick and Duntocher would now be a matter of complete uncertainty; even as it is, we cannot be sure of more than a small part of its actual route.<sup>a</sup>

On this section of the line was discovered a *fibula* of bronze, evidently Roman, in which remain some pieces of coloured glass, set in little square sockets upon its outer edge.<sup>b</sup> (See PLATE VII. *Fig. 6.*) On the property of Auchentoshan, an earthen Vase and part of a stone Bust were likewise dug up, which seem entitled to claim an origin equally remote: the latter resembles that of a Roman soldier accoutred in his cuirass.<sup>c</sup> (See PLATE VII. *Figs. 4 & 5.*) With the exception of the above, we are not aware of any other relics having been met with along the line of the Wall, until we reach the vicinity of Duntocher.

The distance from Chapel-hill to Duntocher is rather more than two English miles.<sup>d</sup> A glance at our map will explain the course of the Wall much better than any description can do. The ground in that quarter must have been, on the whole, exceedingly unfavourable to the object of its construction, owing to the proximity of the high lands on its northern side; from which an

<sup>a</sup> It may here be proper to observe, that, in the plan of the Wall of Antoninus which accompanies this account, we have given the entire course of its track, as ascertained by General Roy in 1755. In those places where it is extremely conjectural it has been dotted only; and, where *still* visible, the line is shaded—the shade being deepest where the vestiges are most perfect. The course of the Military Way is described by a double line, dotted in the centre, which passes at irregular distances to the south of the *Vallum*.

<sup>b</sup> Now in the Andersonian Museum.

<sup>c</sup> Preserved in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

<sup>d</sup> Roy makes it, from the Church of Kilpatrick to Duntocher Fort, 3570 yards—p. 158—*i.e.* by the track of the Wall.

enemy might easily have overlooked the works—prepared to assail them whenever a promising opportunity occurred. The exact spot at which the *Vallum* reached the Dalmuir Burn is somewhat doubtful; it is supposed, however, to have done so nearly on a line with the northern rampart of the second station.<sup>a</sup>

The Fort of Duntocher (we must take the modern name, as none of the Roman designations have been preserved) was situated upon the rising ground which overlooks the church, and that questionable piece of antiquity called the Roman Bridge. As usual, the position is excellent, affording a fair view of the country on every side, and completely commanding the point where the neighbouring rivulet formerly wound its way through the line of the Wall. Gordon represents this fort as being, about the year 1725, in a tolerably distinct condition. He describes it as an inclosure nearly square, protected by two ramparts, with a ditch between them, and having a single gateway in the centre of its southern face; but, singular enough, he carries the continuous entrenchment of the Wall directly through the station, instead of placing it along the northern side.<sup>b</sup> Horsley corrected this mistake, and discovered a second entrance in the eastern rampart—issuing from which, a small branch road proceeded, according to his account, to join the main causeway, whose slightly-elevated ridge passed at the distance of a few yards to the south of the station.<sup>c</sup> According to Roy, the Fort of Duntocher was of an oblong form—measuring within the area about 450 by 300 feet; when he visited it, however, the ramparts were so much dilapidated that their actual size and shape could with difficulty be ascertained.<sup>d</sup>

As a matter of convenience, we may divide the mural stations into three classes, according to their relative sizes and strength. Agreeably to this arrangement, the fort of Duntocher will occupy a place in the second rank only; for neither in extent nor in the number of its defences could it have compared with many of the others we shall presently have occasion to notice. But whatever may have been the original importance of this station, it yields in interest to few along the line, from the number and excellent preservation of the Roman remains which have been discovered around it.

A long time ago—we cannot tell how long, for no one has thought proper

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 158.

<sup>b</sup> Itin. Plate XVI.

<sup>c</sup> Brit. Rom. p. 176, and Plate II.

<sup>d</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 158, and Plate XXXV.

to chronicle the date, but say a hundred and twenty years since, or more—there was dug up at Duntocher a rather curious-looking piece of sculpture; which, as it happened to have something of an ornamental cast about it, was forthwith elevated to a position of some dignity over the gateway leading to Cochney House, a family seat in that part of the country. We have said that it was a piece of sculpture; it also contained many lines of an inscription, which all might see who were inclined to contemplate its withered face—the liberal reason no doubt of its lofty exposure. The chances are, however, that the hostility of the elements would in the course of a few years have left it without a feature to boast of; when its proprietor, Mr. Hamilton of Barns, was fortunately induced to remove it from its exposed situation, and to place it beneath the shelter of a roof within the venerable precincts of the University of Glasgow.

But, before the removal of this stone, it had caught the eye of that indefatigable antiquary Gordon, who made it known to the readers of his *Itinerary* as one of the best executed, which he had seen, of all the Roman inscriptions discovered in Scotland.\* This would be saying too much in its favour at the present day, as we can now refer to others somewhat more worthy of notice; being, however, a curious specimen of art as it existed among the builders of the Roman Wall, this rudely-figured slab is entitled to something more than a mere passing remark.

We can imagine the antiquary who affects the deeper channels of his favourite pursuit to be fixing his attention on this, among others, of the legionary stones, and endeavouring to read upon its antiquated front a more expressive tale than meets the eye, in the words of historic import, rather crowded there—bending, for instance, over its odd embellishments, and scanning the singularity of the design; while his thoughts may wander off among the architectural decorations of the ancient world, to seek in vain, either in humble stone or “Parian marble, fair as Dian’s brow,” for anything similar to those embodied fancies which the taste of the Roman soldiery was wont to exhibit in the works of their hands.

On looking, for example, at the representation of this piece of sculpture, (PLATE VIII. *Fig. 6.*) we might well be inclined to ask, whence came the artist who rejoiced in the patronage of the *Legio Secunda Augusta*? in what region

\* *Itin. Sept.* p. 51.

of the globe did he acquire the style displayed before us—original though rude—and what can be the meaning which his emblems bear? The present is but one specimen among many—all so much alike, that we must either suppose some individual *employé* to have been an indefatigable workman, or else that there existed a wide-spread partiality among the followers of Lollius Urbicus for the peculiar kind of decoration now referred to. There is nothing here like a reflection from the banks of the Nile—as little from those of the Tiber; and, excepting the really well-executed Pegasus, which would be no disgrace to a *Vexillarius* of ordinary taste, even had he mounted guard for many a season on the steps of the Parthenon, we can see nothing in the design but the stamp of an original and self-taught genius. The winged horse and sea-goat are often found together on the Roman-British inscriptions.\* The semicircular ornaments, something like Parthian shields, terminating in rosettes or eagles' heads, are still more common. These last were doubtless mere arbitrary decorations; the two first must, however, have had their signification—what that signification was it is difficult to determine.

But what, we might ask, had the “heaven-aspiring steed”—the wanderer of Helicon, and the favourite of the Muses—to do upon the borders of the *Caledonii*? Did his presence there represent the conquests of the *Legio Secunda* as worthy to be paralleled with those of Bellerophon, his victorious rider? or was this no Pegasus at all, but merely an emblem of the Roman *Alae*—careering with outstretched pinions, to symbolise the speed of their northern triumphs. It is unnecessary, in the words of Brutus, to “pause for a reply,” as, in such matters, conjecture has every scope, and each individual may form a different opinion. As to the so-called sea-goat, unless it be a device peculiar to the Second Legion, we are quite at a loss to account for its frequent appearance. Perhaps it may have borne some emblematic allusion to the “monsters” of our rocky coasts, as the wild boar probably did to those of the interior forests.

The inscription upon this stone is of similar import to the three formerly mentioned. Instead, however, of having been raised by its Vexillation only,

\* v. Horsley's Brit. Northumberland, IXg, IXd, LX, and Cumberland, XXXII. The two first were erected by Cohorts II. and X. of the Second Legion *Augusta*—the others are mere carvings without any inscription.

we find it dedicated to the Emperor by the entire Legion. A part of the legend is placed, it will be observed, near the top, the remainder within the interior border—some of the Imperial titles being omitted, evidently from want of room. The whole may be read thus:—

|                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| IMPERATORI ANTONINO           | <i>To the Emperor Antoninus</i>                     |
| AUGUSTO PIO PATRI PATRIAE     | <i>Augustus Pius, Father of his Country,</i>        |
| LEGIO SECUNDA AUGUSTA         | <i>The Second Legion (surnamed) Augusta,</i>        |
| FECIT (PER) PASSUS IIIICLXX.* | <i>(Dedicate this), having executed 4270 Paces.</i> |

So well pleased had the soldiery apparently been with the above piece of sculpture, that a second seems to have been commissioned, which should perpetuate, amid similar embellishments, another record of their labours on the Wall. This fac-simile, as in many respects it may be termed, has been introduced beside its prototype in PLATE VIII. *Fig. 1*. We are not certain, however, that this last was found at Duntocher; most probably it belongs to some of the other stations; but, as no memoranda have been preserved in regard to the time or place of its discovery, we have thought proper to mention it here on account of its singular resemblance to the preceding slab.<sup>b</sup>

The pegasus, the sea-goat, the semicircular ornaments with eagles' heads, and the corner rosettes, are all repeated, but the execution is much inferior to that of the first; the dedication to the Emperor is moreover wanting, and all that meets the eye, in the shape of an inscription, is comprised in the few words—

|            |                               |                       |
|------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| LEG        | LEGIO                         | <i>The Second</i>     |
| —          | SECUNDA                       | <i>Legion Augusta</i> |
| II         | AUGUSTA FECIT,                | <i>Executed</i>       |
| AVG. F.    | PASSUS IIII CXI. <sup>c</sup> | <i>4111 Paces.</i>    |
| P IIII CXL |                               |                       |

\* Both Gordon and Horsley make it only 3270 paces; but the number on the stone is evidently as we have given it. Its size is 27 by 20½ inches.

<sup>b</sup> Of all the inscriptions dug up along the Wall of Antoninus, there are but four or five to the localities of which no distinct clue can be found. It is known, however, that one of this number was found near Duntocher, but which of them we are unable to ascertain. It must have been, however, either the one before us, or that which will be afterwards mentioned. Both are in the Hunterian Museum, and must have been deposited there for the last forty or fifty years, as neither of them are referred to in the engraved series published by the University of Glasgow towards the close of last century.

<sup>c</sup> The top stroke, crossing the four I's, denotes each of them to mean a thousand—*v. Horsley 195*. This is about the same size as the other—measuring 27½ by 19½ inches.

If those fabulous creations, the pegasus and sea-goat, were the special favourites of the Second Legion, so apparently was the wild boar the chosen device of the Twentieth, since we find it as often present with the epithet *Valens Victrix*, as are the others with the high-sounding title of *Augusta*. We have already had to notice the wild boar, as it is seen on an inscription of the Twentieth Legion discovered at West Kilpatrick, and we now find it again on another of a somewhat similar description, found, it is almost certain, in the neighbourhood of Duntocher, and presented, as was the last mentioned but one, to the Glasgow University, by Mr. Hamilton of Barns.<sup>a</sup>

This stone has met with a good deal of rough usage: still the legend is perfect, as well as the figure of the boar below—the whole accompanied by a not inelegant border, of what, in modern *parlance*, is called the “cable” pattern. (See PLATE VIII. Fig. 5.) The inscription is as follows:—

IMP. C.  
T. AE. HADRIANO  
ANTONINO AVG  
PIO. P. P. VEX. LEG  
XX VV FEC  
P

*Imperatori Caesari  
Tito Aelio Hadriano  
Antonino Augusto  
Pio, Patri Patriae, Vexillatio Legionis  
Vicesimae Valentis Victricis Fecit  
Passus*

The number of the paces executed is illegible; Horsley, taking the general average of what had been discovered in his time, guessed the amount at from three to four thousand:<sup>b</sup> from the small space allowed for the insertion of the figures, the number must have been, we should say, a round one—either, most probably, III or IIII.

At Duntocher was also found a small votive Altar. It is now placed on the top of a cottage adjoining the bridge which crosses the Dalmuir Burn, immediately to the north-west of the rising ground on which the station stood, and has become so much injured by long exposure to the weather, that nothing is now visible upon it but the indistinct outline of a *præfericulum* or jug, and what seems to be a *Secespita* or sacrificial knife.

We now come to the last of the Roman inscriptions which have been brought to light in that quarter, and as it is the latest discovered there, so is it the most interesting of any we have hitherto had occasion to notice. We question

<sup>a</sup> z. Gordon, Itin. p. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Brit. p. 196.

indeed if this be not the *chef d'œuvre* of those military artists who handled the chisel, in the reign of Antoninus, to ornament the stations of his barrier wall. It is a large slab of freestone, measuring forty-nine and half by thirty inches, and was discovered in the month of June, 1812, on the farm of Broadfield,<sup>a</sup> about half a mile south-east from Duntocher station. . (See PLATE VIII. *Fig. 7.*)

In a certain freedom of execution and simplicity of design, we have seen nothing superior, throughout the entire assemblage of our Roman inscriptions. A plain raised border surrounds the stone, within which, in the lower centre of the field, appear two winged Victories, each resting one foot upon a globe, and jointly supporting, with their raised hands, an oblong tablet bearing the inscription. On either side of the Victories stands a Roman soldier—the one holding a spear, and leaning on his *scutum*<sup>b</sup> or long-shaped buckler—the other supporting a small standard with his right hand, and carrying what appears to be a sheathed sword in his left. The former is no doubt intended for one of the *Hastati* or *Principes*, who carried long spears and oblong shields; the latter for a *Vexillarius*, with his Ensign displayed. In the first, the *Lorica* or cuirass covering the body is perfectly distinct, and he stands before us in the full equipment of battle: the standard-bearer seems more lightly accoutred, while something like the fold of a scarf descends from his left shoulder. The head-dress of the two figures is rather singular—bearing a much greater resemblance to the bonnets of our Highland regiments than to the Roman *galea* or helmet. As, however, the legionary soldiers had a decided *penchant* for adorning the crests of their morions with feathers,<sup>c</sup> we have here perhaps a specimen of the length to which, in this respect, their tastes would sometimes lead them.

Above the side figures are two ornamental carvings of a favourite description, apparently, with the sculptors of those times—as we find them very general among the stones discovered along the Roman Wall—and between them lies the inscription, a copy of which may be seen

<sup>a</sup> Then possessed by Mr. M'Lay—*c. Glasgow Courier*, July 7, 1812—and Laskey's Catalogue of the Hunterian Museum, p. 77.

<sup>b</sup> The *Scutum* was bent inward like a half cylinder.

<sup>c</sup> Duncan's *Introd. to Cæsar*, p. 80.



in the plate, and which, divested of its contractions, we take to be as follows:—

IMPERATORI CAESARI  
TITO AELIO HADRIANO  
ANTONINO AUGUSTO  
PATRI PATRIAE  
VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS  
SEXTAE VICTRICIS  
PERFECIT\* OPUS VALLI  
PER M MCCCXL PASSUUM

*To the Emperor Caesar  
Titus Aelius Hadrianus  
Antoninus Augustus,  
The Father of his country,  
The Vexillation of  
The Sixth Legion, the Victorious (dedicates this),  
Having executed of the work of the Wall  
3240 paces.*

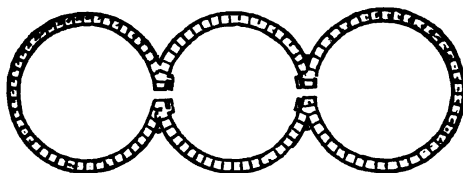
On the ensign supported by the *Vexillarius* are the words VIET. AVG. *VIRTUS AUGUSTI*—a tribute to the worth or valour of the Emperor. This stone is also preserved in the Hunterian Museum, and it certainly forms one of the most interesting of the Glasgow collection.

There is what may be called a dash of the *vis poetica* running throughout the composition. The twin Victories bearing aloft, with expanded wings, the titles of the Emperor, seem as if preparing for the flight that should convey the record of his fame into the farthest regions of the globe: or, rather, they have touched the earth for a season, and now expectant-like await, on the borders of the Caledonian forest, for the signal that is to bid them waft beyond it the renown of the *Legio Sexta Victrix*. The “Vexillation” itself supports them on either side—represented on the one hand by the standard-bearer proper—and on the other by a delegate from the six hundred approved soldiers whose especial duty called them to protect the ensigns. “We have come forth to conquer,” exclaim, we shall suppose, those plumed ancients. “Victory is with us!—even by the far-waters of the *Glotta Fluvius*.” The *VIRTUS AUGUSTI*—the glory of the great Antonine!—where could it be more appropriately enrolled than on the foremost standard of his advancing legions!—here it is, the evidence perhaps of grateful recollections, when the glare of the dedicatory inscription might be regarded as nothing more than the customary adulation paid to the dignity of his position as the supreme head of the Roman world.

\* The inscription is here somewhat obliterated—instead of *Perfecit* it might be read *Pio Fidelis*, an honorary title sometimes assumed by the Sixth Legion; in which case the word *Perfecit* or *Fecit* would require to be understood. It will be observed that the epithet *Pio*, as applied to the Emperor, is here left out; and that in the original the word *Victrix* wants the last *i*. Such instances of contraction or mis-spelling are by no means uncommon.

In the year 1775, some curious subterranean chambers were exposed in a field immediately to the north of where the station stood: their position was a short way distant from the church erected a few years ago in the vicinity of Duntocher Bridge. Some labourers were at that time engaged in turning over the ground, when they came in contact with a large stone, which was found to cover the mouth of a circular vault, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep and 10 in diameter: the walls and floor were constructed of hewn stone, the roof of bricks; and, what says a great deal both for the skill of the builder and the strength of the cement employed, this ceiling was not arched, but perfectly flat. No one would venture to enter, until a young man of the neighbourhood offered his services, and was lowered through the opening.<sup>a</sup>

On descending, he found that this vault was connected with two additional chambers of the same size, and exactly similar in appearance. The passage from the one to the other was by a narrow opening or doorway—having a neatly executed groove on either side for the admission of a sliding panel, by means of which the communication between them might be cut off, as is shown in the accompanying plan:—



The only object of curiosity discovered within these vaults was an earthen jar, found standing in a niche of the wall, and containing a female figure, about six inches in height, formed of reddish clay. A few grains of wheat were likewise picked up, which renders it exceedingly probable that this subterranean building had been made use of as a granary.<sup>b</sup>

In the same year, and near the same spot, were laid open the extensive remains of a *Sudatorium*, in one part of which the floor was supported by 144 square pillars of brick, of a beautiful pale red: the under ones being 8, and the upper ones 21 inches square. On the top of these, as at Inveresk, was spread a layer of lime mixed with gravel, five inches in thickness.<sup>c</sup> Here,

<sup>a</sup> That adventurous individual is still alive (1844.)

<sup>b</sup> This is somewhat corroborated by the fact of a regular drain for carrying off water having been found under them.

<sup>c</sup> Gough's Camd. III. p. 362.

it would appear, the garrison of the fort, and, it may be, the colonists of its vicinity, had enjoyed the *deliciae* of that most universal of Italian luxuries—the Bath. (See PLATE VIII. *Fig. 3.*)

On prosecuting those discoveries, in 1778, some fine fragments of Roman pottery were brought to light. They were of a red colour, glazed upon both sides, and in excellent preservation. The best specimen among them represents two centaurs at a gallop, with the figure of an armed soldier standing under a canopy between them. (See PLATE VIII. *Fig. 2.*) Another is ornamented by a succession of circles like small shields, with a female figure in the centre of each, and a row of dolphins gamboling underneath. A third, which seems part of the rim of a basin, has the words BEVSC.F. supposed to be the maker's name—*BRUSCI FILIUS*—stamped upon it.\* (See PLATE VIII. *Fig. 4.*)

Duntocher, to judge by the various remains of antiquity discovered around it, was, no doubt, a place of some consequence in Roman times. Besides the objects already mentioned, several Imperial coins have been found in its vicinity; amongst others, an *aureus* of Hadrian, struck in the second year of his Consulate, and having on the reverse a female figure seated on a throne, under which appear the words *FORT. RED.—FORTUNAE REDUCI*;<sup>b</sup> also, a “small brass” of Trajan, intended to commemorate his Parthian victories, which occurred in the year 106 or 107, and likewise some *denarii* of Domitian and Faustina. As to the well-known bridge in that quarter, which has been so generally taken notice of as a specimen of Roman architecture, what shall be said? It may appear a species of sacrilege to insinuate anything against the current opinion of its antique origin; yet, notwithstanding the general belief, and Lord Blantyre's inscription set up to confirm it, we must agree with Roy in regarding it as a work of later times—built, most probably, with the stones which had been taken from the ruins of the adjoining station.<sup>c</sup> Recent alterations have so changed the appearance of this bridge, that almost nothing of its ancient character remains; the only traces of the original masonry to be observed must be looked for from under the arches, in which position the

\* Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 362—where it is mentioned that a bar of lead, covered with rust, was also discovered in the neighbourhood of Duntocher. Such bars of lead have been found at various Roman stations—e. “Bertha,” &c.

<sup>b</sup> Gord. p. 52.

<sup>c</sup> *Milit. Antiq.* p. 158.

1



2



3



4



5



6



7





visitor may yet distinguish the older portion from the new. We should say that the so-called Roman Bridge may very probably date its origin from the time of King Robert Bruce—built, perhaps, while he had his hunting seat in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, and was a frequent resident in that part of the country.

If the reader will turn to the First Section of the PLAN which accompanies this volume, he will observe that the line of the Wall takes, in the first instance, a somewhat southerly direction after leaving the Fort of Duntocher, and then strikes due east, towards a small hollow watered by the Cleddin burn. Along this part of the line its traces are now few and indistinct; but immediately on leaving that little stream we come upon the excavation of the *fosse* in tolerable perfection. It may here be followed, more or less distinct, for about the third part of a mile, through the cultivated fields of a rising ground called Hutcheson Hill. At the end of this track its vestiges become again almost obliterated—scarcely visible in crossing the Peel Glen, and barely to be distinguished, as, from that low position, it mounts the steep ascent of the CASTLE-HILL, on the summit of which stood what we shall call the Third of the Wall-Stations.

The Military Way, which up to this point had continued to run along pretty close to the track of the *Vallum*, diverged considerably after passing the Cleddin Burn; but on leaving the Peel Glen it again approached the entrenchments—gradually nearing them as they ascended to the fort in advance. It has been thought, however, that another branch of the causeway had been conducted along the low grounds, and almost in a straight line towards Kilpatrick, for the purpose of avoiding the adjacent heights. As the course of the Military Road has been carefully laid down on the PLAN, it will be unnecessary to refer in future to its particular windings; unless when they can be accompanied with some account of its existing remains. In general the *Via* closely accompanies the line of the Wall: when the case is otherwise, it has evidently diverged in order to avoid some considerable turn of the works.

In the bed of the rivulet which flows through the Peel Glen, there were at one time visible the remains of a stone pavement—supposed to have been the foundations of an ancient bridge. Gordon, assuming that a bridge had existed there in the time of the Roman occupation, avers that some



neighbouring houses were built with the stones taken from its ruins; many of which he declares that he saw—regularly cut and chequered, as is frequently found to be the case, among the fragments of Roman masonry discovered along the Wall.<sup>a</sup> It is also thought, owing to its secluded position, that a small *Castellum* or watch-tower must have existed in this hollow: Roy imagined that he could perceive some traces of it in 1755. We shall now, however, look for them in vain.<sup>b</sup>

But the Castle-hill is before us—its circular top crowned with that chaplet of trees whose slender stems have usurped the place of the ancient *Valla*, and whose lengthening shadows stretch over the withered sward—still as the “ghostly memories” of departed time. Leaving the little ravine at Peel, a short ascent conducts the visitor to the summit, where, having made his way through this sylvan belt, he finds himself within a circular area, perfectly free of wood, excepting towards the centre, where one solitary tree rises before him, as if it had stepped forth from among the ranks of its surrounding comrades, and now took its turn of duty as warder of the ground.

This narrow plantation incloses the site of the Roman Fort, of which not a vestige remains, unless the more fervent antiquary may be able to distinguish some traces of the ramparts in certain inequalities of the surface, which are slightly perceptible at one or two places. The fort at Castle-hill was, in size and strength, one of the least important along the whole line, and may properly be placed in the third or lowest class.<sup>c</sup> Its situation was, however, a very commanding one, and may account for the comparatively trivial nature of the defences. When General Roy visited this station he seems to have found its remains exceedingly indistinct; but he observed enough to show that its area had been protected by a single *Vallum* and ditch, and that a branch, at least, of the Military Way had passed directly through it.<sup>d</sup> Its distance from the station at Duntocher is 3450 yards, or rather less than two English miles; and the space inclosed by the ramparts measured about 300 by 220 feet.<sup>e</sup>

Two inscriptions have been dug up at the Castle-hill, which prove not

<sup>a</sup> Itin. Sept. p. 52.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, p. 158.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, p. 158—Horsley, p. 165.

<sup>d</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 158. Horsley erroneously states that the *Via* passed a little to the south of the fort—Brit. p. 166.

<sup>e</sup> Roy, p. 158—i.e. measuring from the centre of each, and following the course of the Wall.

only that the Romans had possessed a garrison post on its summit; but, likewise, that the soldiery of the legions by no means confined their embellishments to the more important stations. The first of these is one of the usual legionary stones; but of an exceedingly curious character, on account of the emblematic devices which it contains, and which are well worthy of a moment's attention.

A flag of freestone, measuring 53 by 23 inches, and consequently presenting a more than usual proportion of length, is here divided into three compartments; that in the centre bearing the inscription, and those on either side embellished in the following manner:—on the right a naked figure is seated on the ground, with his arms tied behind, while above him is to be seen a sea-goat, supporting upon its back the rude effigy of an eagle, which seems to be looking round and flapping its wings in all the pride of conscious superiority. On the left we have two miserable beings, like the first—naked and in fetters, with a dagger placed between them—over whom a horseman, in a Roman helmet and cuirass, is dashing along; bearing the usual cavalry shield<sup>a</sup> in one hand, and raising his spear in a menacing attitude with the other: behind him stands a female figure carrying a wreath<sup>b</sup>—probably a personification of Victory—all of which will be better understood by a reference to the drawing given in *PLATE IX. Fig. 4.*

Here we have a curious emblematic picture, rude but graphic, which speaks plainly of the self-gratulation with which the soldiers of Urbicus were pleased to regard their conquests in North Britain: it serves, besides, to throw something like a ray of light on the frequent appearance of that curious nondescript the sea-goat. Below, on either side, sit the dejected representatives of the unconquered though often defeated Caledonians. Hunted from their retreats—made prisoners—stripped and bound—they languish in captivity at the mercy of the invader, who is here seen lording it over them; on the one hand with Victory in his train; while, as if to generalise the subject somewhat more, the Imperial eagle triumphs, upon the other, above what we must now, more than ever, understand to be the prostrate emblem of their rocky sea-girt land—a fabulous hybrid of the goat and seal.<sup>c</sup> And, look to

<sup>a</sup> The shields of the cavalry were round; and, what is singular, the Roman horsemen neither used stirrups nor saddle—Duncan's *Introd. to Cæsar*, p. lxxxii.

<sup>b</sup> *v.* Horsley, p. 195.

<sup>c</sup> Horsley is somewhat of this opinion—*Brit.* p. 196.



the short sword or poignard lying between the captives on the left—was it placed there to signify that death was the only portion of the vanquished? or did it point to their future fate, when the one must fall by the hands of the other, while the inhuman shouts of the circus rung in his ear—“butchered to make a Roman holiday?” Besides the dagger, there is something like a *Vexillum* or standard placed beside the single, and likewise between the two captive figures. What these *Vexilla* meant to signify we cannot imagine, unless introduced to indicate that the natives had been obliged to give way before them.

The inscription refers, as usual, to the construction of the Wall. We give it, as in former cases, with the contractions extended:—

IMPERATORI CAESARI TITO AELIO  
HADRIANO ANTONINO  
AUGUSTO PIO, PATRI PATRIAE, LEGIO II  
AUGUSTA, PER MILLIA PASSUM IIII D C  
LXVI·S

*To The Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius  
Hadrianus Antoninus  
Augustus Pius, Father of his country,  
The Second Legion, Augusta,  
(Dedicate this, having executed)  
4666 paces.*

In the execution of this legend, there are one or two peculiarities which may be observed in the Plate: the r's, for instance, overtop the other letters in a very odd manner, while a “tie” appears in the second line, where the n and i of “Antonino” are thrown into one; in both cases the object had been, apparently, to save room—the artist finding, as he advanced, that he had miscalculated his proportions. The meaning of the s after LXVI. is doubtful. Horsley conjectured that it stood for the word *Solvit*, leaving its usual accompaniment *Votum* to be supplied by the imagination\*—the two combined signify “a vow performed.” This is, perhaps, stretching the matter a little too far, but we cannot supply a better interpretation, unless we may suppose the s to stand for *Semissis*, a half. Mr. Graham of Dugaldston presented this antique to the University of Glasgow in the year 1694. It is unfortunately broken in two, but is otherwise in very fair preservation, and forms one of the collection in the Hunterian Museum.

The second stone found at Castle-hill is a votive Altar, the first we have met with along the course of the Wall, with the exception of that illegible

\* Brit. p. 195.

specimen which adorns the gable of a house near Duntocher Bridge. It is peculiarly interesting on account of the dedication, and somewhat singular, from the combination of letters which it in some instances exhibits. This altar was discovered by a neighbouring farmer in the year 1826, and was presented to the Hunterian Museum by the proprietor of Castle-hill. It is rather above the average size—measuring 41 inches in height, and from 14 to 15 inches in breadth—and the shape of the letters is exactly similar to those which appear on the legionary inscriptions—showing it to have belonged, most probably, to the second century. The dedication is as follows:—but as we cannot exhibit the double letters in type, the left hand column must be understood as only an approximation to the original, which is faithfully copied, however, in PLATE IX. *Fig. 2.*

|               |                     |   |
|---------------|---------------------|---|
| CAMPES        | CAMPESTRIBUS        | <i>To the Eternal Field Deities</i>             |
| TRIBVS ET     | ÆTERNIS BRITANNIÆ   | <i>of Britain,</i>                              |
| BRITANNI      | QVINTVS PISENTIVS   | <i>Quintus Pisenius Justus,</i>                 |
| Q·PISENTIVS   | IUSTVS PRAEFECTVS   | <i>Præfect of the Fourth Cohort</i>             |
| IVSTVS PREF.* | COHORTIS QUARTAE    | <i>of the Gaulish Auxiliaries,</i>              |
| COH IIII GAL  | GALLORVM            | <i>(dedicates this.)</i>                        |
| V·S·L·L·M     | VOTVM SOLVIT        |   |
|               | LIBENTISSIME MERITO | <i>His vow (being) most willingly fulfilled</i> |

The only difficulty to be found in the above meets the reader in the first three lines of the copy from the original: we have hazarded a reading which may be incorrect, but cannot, at this moment, think of a better one. Translate, however, the “ET BRITANNI” as you may—still the signification cannot be materially altered: and what, we ask, can be more fresh and vivid than the ray of light which, from this little stone, pierces the “night of time?”

The Fourth Cohort of the Gauls appears either to have been quartered in this island for a great length of time, or to have returned to it at different periods. As the present inscription dates most likely from about the year 140 or 150, it is probable that this auxiliary corps formed part of the army which marched into the North along with Urbicus. From another Altar discovered in Cumberland, and very rudely executed,<sup>b</sup> it would appear that

\* Here is probably an instance of the *e* alone being substituted for the diphthong *æ*, which we find evidently the case in the word *Præfectus*, a few lines farther down. See note at p. 127.

<sup>b</sup> It is dedicated to Jove—Horsley, p. 260—Gordon, p. 97.

this Cohort had, at a subsequent period, been stationed upon the Wall of Severus. The last we hear of it is from a notice in the *Notitia Imperii*,—a very curious list, as formerly mentioned, of superior officers, both civil and military, who were on service throughout the Roman Empire, at a period not long subsequent to the death of Honorius, in 425—in which it is stated, that the Tribune of the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls was in command at VINDOLANA (Little Chesters, in Cumberland).<sup>a</sup> If, therefore, this body of auxiliaries had remained in Britain from the age of Antoninus Pius down to that when the *Notitia* were compiled, it must have been renewed, for many succeeding generations, by drafts from the Continent; or, as is generally the case with foreign levies in modern times, it must have become Gaulish only in name, as the length of its stay extends over no less a period than about 270 years. The Romans, indeed, seldom removed their troops from one country to another, unless when necessity made such a course imperative: it was rather their practice to domicile particular corps in the provinces where they served; as will be seen, towards the end of the volume, by a reference to the length of time during which some of the Legions were stationed in this Island.

We leave the Castle-hill, to pursue the line of the Wall over cultivated fields; where, without the aid of those who have gone before us, it would be almost impossible to ascertain its course. We must again, therefore, refer to our Map, by which the line of the *Vallum* will be observed descending, in the first instance, almost due east; and then, as it reaches the low grounds, turning off in a southerly direction, to gain the neighbouring height of Ledcamrough, on which now stands a farm house, called the Thorn.<sup>b</sup> After passing this spot, a very faint outline of the *fossé* may be perceived, as it again bends to the south, in order to fall into a straight line with the Fourth of the mural Stations; which occupied a position in the hollow, immediately beyond a small hamlet, known as the village of EAST (or NEW) KILPATRICK.

Along the whole of the route from Castle-hill there is but little to repay the visitor, who may take the trouble to pursue the track of the Wall. A small portion of the Military Way remains, indeed, in a state of considerable perfection, within a field immediately to the west of

<sup>a</sup> Horsley, p. 478.

<sup>b</sup> It takes this name from a venerable thorn tree, which Roy alludes to.

the high-road which passes by East Kilpatrick; but as it is now covered to the depth of several inches by earth, and overgrown with grass, nothing of its appearance can be observed without having recourse to the spade; when, however, the surface is removed, the causeway may be perceived, in breadth about twenty feet, and some eighteen paces distant from the line of the great ditch—formed of stones of various sizes, small boulders, and such like, compactly laid together.<sup>a</sup> From Duntocher eastward, the hills gradually retire from the position of the Wall, leaving an open and somewhat undulating country in front.

After passing a short way beyond the village, we reach the site of East Kilpatrick Fort—now a cultivated field. In the spring of the year, before the vegetation has begun to show itself above the surface, a slight appearance of the trenches may yet be seen, especially towards the south-west angle of the station, where the usual curve may be plainly followed by the eye: but this is all—and every successive passage of the ploughshare will continue the work of obliteration, until even those trifling vestiges shall have disappeared. Unlike the *Prætenturæ* of Duntocher and Castle-hill, that of East Kilpatrick did not stand upon a height; but occupied a position on comparatively level ground, in the centre of what may be called a wide and open gorge, through which the highways from Glasgow to Drymen and to Milngavie now proceed. This, as General Roy remarks,<sup>b</sup> was one of those points of the line to which the attention of the natives was very likely to have been directed, when watching for an opportunity of forcing their way into the Roman province; hence it was, we may suppose, that this position had been chosen for the establishment of a considerable garrison; as the fort at East Kilpatrick was certainly one of those which ought to be included among the *Prætenturæ* of the first class.

Of an oblong form—rounded as usual at the corners—this station was defended on three sides by a double course of ramparts and ditches, and on the fourth by the line of the continuous Wall with its protecting fosse. The area, inclosed within its interior *Valla*, measured about 480 by 330 feet; from which, on the East, West, and South, the entrenchments extended outwards to the breadth of more than 130 feet. The Military Way passed directly

<sup>a</sup> See Gordon, p. 53, and Horsley, p. 166, for their accounts of its condition in the early part of last century.

<sup>b</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 159.

through it, and its distance from Castle-hill was 2450 yards—rather more than a mile and a third.\* In front of its position to the north, the ground becomes wooded and slightly precipitous—descending towards a small rivulet that flows in an easterly direction, bordered upon one side by the village church-yard, and on the other by that plantation of trees whose clustered foliage conceals the rugged bank, along which the Wall of Antoninus had passed.

In the words of a neighbouring farmer, the remains of the Roman works about East Kilpatrick have proved a perfect quarry for the supply of building materials. Many hundred cart-loads of stones have been removed at different times from the line of the Military Way, and also from the foundations of the Station, and many hundreds more remain to be dug out whenever they may be required. Tradition points to a spot in the vicinity, called the Bear's Den, as the burial place of the Roman garrison; upon what grounds we cannot discover; but it is possible enough that in a matter of this kind she may not be very much at fault. In many of the Roman camps, springs of excellent water are frequently found—hidden, most generally, in some secluded corner, and welling forth unseen, among over-hanging sedges and the “green growing” rush. Such a spring existed within the ramparts at East Kilpatrick; the water from which has been recently led into a drain, and now makes its crystal appearance towards the bottom of the field, at a considerable distance from its former outlet. When first discovered a few remains of masonry existed near it—confirming in some degree the opinion, that this tiny fountain had been a source of supply to the ancient garrison.

We have now to mention two inscriptions, which are currently reported to have been found about East Kilpatrick. We are by no means certain that they belong to the fort which has just been described; but as it is more than probable that they were discovered somewhere in its neighbourhood, we shall take the liberty of referring to them, while still upon the spot. Like the twin-pair mentioned at Duntocher, the one seems to be a mere copy of the other—a very curious circumstance; and such as, we believe, has never been previously taken notice of.

The first is a large freestone slab—now in the Hunterian Museum—measuring five feet long, and two and a half broad. The inscription is in the centre, on what may be called part of a frieze, having an ornament on either

\* Roy, p. 159—Horsley, p. 166.

side, something like the usual Parthian shield, with rosettes in the centre and at each extremity. (See PLATE IX. *Fig. 3.*)

The dedication is to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, by the Vexillation of the Sixth Legion, *Victrix*, on their having completed, in the construction of the Wall, 3665 paces.

IMPERATORI CAESARI TITO AELIO HADRIANO ANTONINO  
AUGUSTO PIO, PATRI PATRIÆ VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS SEXTÆ  
VICTRICIS PERFECIT\* PER MILLE PASSUS III·DCLXV·S<sup>b</sup>

Gordon says that this stone was found at "New Kirkpatrick;"<sup>c</sup> but among those engraved for the College of Glasgow, it is mentioned as having been discovered at Summerston, a farm situated about two miles farther to the eastward.

The second, now in the possession of James Ewing, Esq. of Levenside, Dumbartonshire, so much resembles the preceding, that any description of it is unnecessary—the only difference between them consisting in the side ornaments, and in the arrangement of the words. The inscriptions upon both are exactly to the same purport, as may be seen by comparing the drawings given in PLATE IX. where the copies are respectively numbered 3 and 4. It is rather a curious circumstance to find that two inscriptions had been erected to commemorate the same piece of labour—as in this instance seems to have been the case. Probably it was the practice to set up such stones at each end of the various sections of the work performed; in this view, had the one been discovered at Summerston, and the other about 500 or 600 yards to the west of the Castle-hill, we should have had them 3665 Roman paces<sup>d</sup> apart—the distance mentioned in the two inscriptions: nor can it be said that these were not the actual positions at which they were found; as in the case

\* The P. F. in the original, which we read *Perfecti*, may, however, apply to the legion itself, and be meant to signify *Piæ Fidelis* or *Felicitis* (Devout and Faithful, or Devout and Happy); the first is the most probable.—*v.* Gruter, I. 492—Horsley 196—Gordon 53.

<sup>b</sup> Here, as in a former instance, is an *s* at the end of the numerals, difficult to be understood. Both the *v* and this *s* are rather smaller than the other letters: hence Horsley reads them *Votum Soleit*,—making the number of paces only 3660.—Brit. p. 196.

<sup>c</sup> Itin. Sept. p. 53. On the second stone, immediately to be mentioned, it will be observed that the last *x* is also smaller than the others—a circumstance which rather opposes Mr. Horsley's theory.

<sup>d</sup> The Roman pace was 5 Roman feet, *i.e.* 4 feet 10 inches and a fraction English.

of the one Summerston is distinctly mentioned; while in that of the other we must allow the "neighbourhood of Kirkpatrick" to be a somewhat vague expression.<sup>a</sup> The matter, however, is one of mere conjecture; but if not set up, as supposed, at each extremity of that part of the Wall to which their inscriptions refer, we are at a loss to account for the existence of such duplicate stones. Except in their resemblance to each other, there is nothing else about them calling for particular remark. Some fragments of Roman pottery have also been found at East Kilpatrick, which much resembled those discovered at Duntocher; they likewise contain the figures of centaurs, and what might almost be called a copy of the Medicean Venus—all in low relief.<sup>b</sup>

We pass from East Kilpatrick to cross the Milngavie Road, and afterwards ascend to Ferguston Moor, where the hollow of the ditch is to be seen in considerable perfection, with, immediately to the south of it, some feeble traces of the rampart itself. The ground has never been ploughed at that spot, but seems to have been, till of recent years, covered with wood—hence the fortuitous circumstance that shows us, in the nineteenth century, the *fossé* of Urbicus, still from six to ten feet deep, and of yet greater width. A little farther on, however, its traces are almost entirely lost among cultivated fields; nor do we again meet with them, in anything like a distinct condition, until after leaving the next station on our route—that of BEMULIE.<sup>c</sup>

In Gordon's time the ditch on Ferguston Moor was fully 30 feet broad, and about 20 deep; the Military Way was likewise very conspicuous, passing, for some distance, within thirteen paces of the Wall—now receding from, and again approaching towards it, as shown in our Map. The farm of Summerston, once the site of a village, seems to have attracted a good deal of attention in former times. Sir R. Sibbald places a fort at that spot, and Dr. Stukely conjectures it to have been the site of a Roman "city," which he calls *Simetria*. Gordon could discover nothing there to warrant such an opinion, and, with much probability, supposes him to have mistaken it for Bemulie,

<sup>a</sup> According to some reports, the stone now at Levenside was found at Millochan, not far from Summerston.

<sup>b</sup> A few years since, some Roman coins were discovered in the bed of a small loch on the estate of Kilmardinny, the seat of William Whyte, Esq. situated at a short distance to the north of East Kilpatrick.

<sup>c</sup> See the Accompanying PLAN, Section II. for a delineation of its course.



4.



2.



3.



1.





7. 1. 11

only a short way distant.<sup>a</sup> Horsley says that the foundation of the Wall, the under course of which had been there composed of stone, was, about the year 1730, to be traced for nearly a mile, from the middle of Ferguston Moor, in the direction of Summerston. This foundation was twelve feet broad, and had drains or conduits formed in it for the escape of water.<sup>b</sup> These conduits extended from the Wall to the Military Way: they were formed of blocks of freestone, laid in parallel courses, with similar blocks resting across them on the top, and the passage was sufficiently large to admit the body of a man in a creeping posture; and yet, he adds, "this place does not seem to require drains."<sup>c</sup> The same kind of water-courses have been discovered under the Wall of Severus, and at other places on that of Antoninus, as shall be afterwards noticed. Along this part of the line the Wall made several considerable turns, in order to keep the high grounds, especially that commanding height which overlooks a place called the Temple; and to avoid as much as possible what must anciently have been the marshy hollows around Millochan farm.

The Roman station of Bemulie stood on a gentle acclivity, overlooking the river Kelvin at the point where it formerly intersected the line of the Wall. The site of the ancient fort is traversed by the highway from Glasgow to Balmore, and occupied by a cluster of buildings called Balmulie or Balmuldie farm: perhaps this is the proper name which should now be made use of; but as it seems to be a mere corruption of the older designation, we prefer resisting, in this instance, the innovations of change.

Both from its size and the number of its entrenchments, this station seems to have been one of the most important on the Wall. At the present day the vestiges of its works are all to be numbered among the things that were. But hear what Gordon said of it, some hundred and twenty years ago:—"On the south side of the Kelvin the great ruins of Bemulie begin to appear, and show it originally to have been a very magnificent place. On the west end of the village are to be seen four rows of ramparts, with as many ditches between them; but on the other sides they are more obscure and flat. Within the area of these ditches are great foundations of stone buildings, but so embarrassed with the cottages built upon them, that one cannot form a

<sup>a</sup> Gordon's *Itin.* p. 53.

<sup>b</sup> *Hors. Brit.* p. 1. 63

<sup>c</sup> *Idem.*

right idea of the whole. Under the ground there are several arched Vaults, as the country people informed me, with hollow squared stones, by way of conduits for bringing in of water from the river Kelvin.”<sup>a</sup> The cottages here alluded to have disappeared equally with the vestiges of the ramparts and ditches.<sup>b</sup> According to Roy, the area of this station was nearly an exact square of about 450 feet, the Military Way passed through it, and its distance from East Kilpatrick was about 4600 yards—a trifle more than  $2\frac{3}{4}$  English miles.<sup>c</sup> The position it occupied was by no means a very strong one, but the fort was conveniently situated for protecting that part of the Wall through which the waters of the Kelvin passed.

It was stated, a few pages back, that Capitolinus is the only one of the Roman historians who makes any allusion to the erection of the Caledonian Wall. He mentions, it will be remembered, that it was built by Lollius Urbicus, the Legate of Antoninus Pius; who erected this bulwark in order to remove the barbarians “to a greater distance.” Now is it not singular, that, fourteen centuries after he wrote his history, this portion of his statements should be in a great measure confirmed, by the discovery, along the track of that Wall, of the fragment of an inscription, bearing all the essential parts of Urbicus’ name—a name omitted by all but one, among the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*?

This fragment was disinterred at or near Bemulie about a hundred and fifty years ago,<sup>d</sup> and apparently forms part of a votive tablet, erected by the Second Legion in honour of the Imperial Legate. No other portion of the inscription could have been nearly so valuable or interesting as that which has been saved; and, had the antiquary of William and Mary’s days lived under a similar dispensation with the ancient Roman, we should think that, from him, an Altar to the “Auspicious Fates” would not have been *mal apropos* on

<sup>a</sup> Itin. Septem. p. 53.

<sup>b</sup> It is a curious circumstance that there was a tradition current many years ago in that part of the country, which reported that, in ancient times, a great annual fair had been held at Bemulie, to which the natives came to traffic with the Romans. This tradition had been handed down from time immemorial, and cannot be supposed to have originated without some valid cause.

<sup>c</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 159.

<sup>d</sup> Roy, 152.

the occasion of its discovery. The stone measures 17 by 10 inches, and bears these words, or parts of words :—

P.L.E.G.I.I.A  
Q.LOLLIOVR  
LEG AVG.PR.PR

POSUIT LEGIO SECUNDA AUGUSTA  
QUINTO LOLLIO URBICO  
LEGATO AUGUSTI PROPRAETORI

*Placed by the Second Legion Augusta to (the honour of) Quintus Lollius Urbicus, Legate and Proprator of the Emperor.\**

(See PLATE X. Fig. 3.)

Here is an unquestionable confirmation, if such were still required, that the Wall which extended between the Rivers Forth and Clyde was that alluded to by Capitolinus: nothing can be more satisfactory—nothing so little open to dispute.

If the visitor to those scenes should happen to find himself at the house of Cadder, situated to the eastward within two miles of Bemulie, he will observe, built into the front of the mansion, at the height of twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, an antique piece of sculpture, which cannot fail to arrest his attention. This is another specimen of Roman workmanship discovered in the neighbourhood of the last mentioned station. It exhibits a laurel wreath, supported on either side by what is supposed to be a winged Victory,<sup>b</sup> each standing upon a *Cornucopia*, which terminates in an eagle's head, and within the wreath appear the words—

L E G  
II  
A V G  
F E C

LEGIO  
SECUNDA  
AUGUSTA  
FECIT

(See PLATE X. Fig. 1.)

Showing that the Second Legion Augusta had erected the building to which it originally belonged—perhaps a *Sacellum*, perhaps a Barrack, perhaps even the Station itself, above whose gateway this inscription may have stood.

\* v. Gordon Itin. p. 63. Horsley does not agree with this reading, and believes that it ought rather to be considered as part of a dedication which had been set up by Urbicus himself in honour of the Emperor—Brit. p. 198.

<sup>b</sup> Gordon Itin. p. 53—who gives a very incorrect copy of the stone—(See his Plate XII. Fig. 1.)—omitting entirely the eagles' heads, which are perfectly distinct in the original. The figures may probably have been intended for Victories: they are, however, *in nudibus*, and do not resemble any that we have met with elsewhere.

There was a third inscription found somewhere about Bemulie, which lay for a long time at Cadder, but which has, for the last fifty years, made one of the collection at Glasgow College. It is a simple tablet, with very little pretension to ornament, and had been erected, as we learn from the dedication, by the Second Legion *Augusta*, on their having completed 3666 paces of the Wall. It is scarcely necessary perhaps to repeat the inscription in an extended form; but, in order that none may be omitted, we venture to give it place. A copy of the original may be seen in PLATE X. *Fig. 2*.

IMPERATORI CAESARI TITO AELIO HADRIANO ANTON-  
INO AUGUSTO PIO, PATRI PATRIAE LEGIO SECUNDA  
AUGUSTA PER MILLIA PASSUUM IIDCLXVI S \*

The numbers here given differ in a single figure only from those recorded in the two inscriptions said to have been discovered in the neighbourhood of East Kilpatrick: in them the number of paces mentioned is 3665—executed by the Sixth Legion; in this it is 3666—by the Second. The coincidence is somewhat singular; especially as the last was found at so short a distance from the neighbourhood in which, it is supposed, the others had lain—Bemulie Fort being about 2850 Roman paces distant from East Kilpatrick. At one of the houses, within what was the area of the station, may be seen a stone, dug up in the vicinity, which much resembles a small altar in an unfinished state; various fragments of ancient masonry, large slabs of dressed stone, and such like, have likewise been of late years discovered there—the last remains probably of the Roman buildings which had once covered the spot.

On proceeding a little way to the north of Bemulie, the visitor may distinctly perceive the hollow of the great ditch, ascending the sloping fields in the direction of Cadder woods. From the high-road the excavation appears to be nearly filled up, because we look from a distance directly into it; but on making a *detour* to the eastward, and approaching its edge in a lateral direction, the line of the ditch is seen to much greater advantage—appearing in some places nearly in as good a state of preservation as does the section upon Ferguston Moor. Within the inclosures of Cadder it likewise

\* We have here again the concluding s, which has already been alluded to. Gordon omits this letter in his copy, *Itin. Plate X. Fig. 2*.

continues for some way exceedingly distinct; but as we proceed through the grounds, it is again almost entirely lost; having been, in several places, filled up within the last two years. While the workmen were engaged, in the spring of 1843, in levelling a portion of the *Vallum* to the south of the ditch, they came upon several water-courses, built of stone, which had crossed the foundation of the Wall in the same manner as at Ferguston Moor.<sup>a</sup>

The course of the Wall issued, according to Roy, from the plantations of Cadder, near a curious artificial *tumulus*, supposed to have been the site of a Roman *Castellum* or Watch Tower. This *tumulus* stands at a short distance from the parish church, and is still uninjured. It seems to have been of a rectangular shape, flat on the top, and surrounded by a ditch. The spot it occupies is 3600 yards distant from Bemulie; and it is by no means improbable that one of the *Prætenturæ* had been situated here, with which the above *tumulus* was perhaps connected as an exploratory mount. Horsley suggests that a regular station may have stood near the site of the present church; or, as Roy supposes, its position was probably a little farther to the north, on a gentle acclivity, now occupied by a few cottages and gardens. The subject is entirely conjectural, but as some kind of garrison post had, in all probability, been established between Bemulie and the station at KIRKINTILLOCH, to which we shall immediately proceed, there seems good reason to believe that its site must have been near the *tumulus* at Cadder, that position being nearly equi-distant from the two, and, at the same time, well adapted for defence.<sup>b</sup> When Gordon visited this neighbourhood, the remains of the causeway were very distinct—proceeding from Bemulie Fort to the Church of Cadder, at the distance of twenty-seven paces from the Wall.<sup>c</sup>

From Cadder to Kirkintilloch, the traces of the Roman entrenchment are almost entirely obliterated, and are only to be faintly observed

<sup>a</sup> The writer saw some of these conduits in course of removal: they were composed of blocks of squared freestone, like those described by Horsley. A singular iron instrument, resembling that part of a pair of fetters which incloses the ankle, was found there at the same time, and at the depth of several feet underground.

<sup>b</sup> *v.* Horsley, p. 168—Roy, p. 159.

<sup>c</sup> *Itin. Septen.* p. 54. Gordon states that there was a square fort on the opposite side of the valley, called "Broken Tower," to which there was, by common tradition, a subterranean passage from Bemulie station, two miles distant—a relic of the wonders with which the popular belief had, centuries ago, invested the labours of the Romans.

where the course of the ditch is indicated by a slight depression, which here and there traverses the cultivated fields. From Cadder the line was continued, as will be seen from our MAP, along the gentle acclivities which overlook the plain of the Kelvin, making several turns to keep the highest ground, until it united with the ramparts of the seventh station at Kirkintilloch.<sup>a</sup>

The town of Kirkintilloch, at one time called "Caerpentalloch," may probably ascribe its origin to the period when the walls of a Roman fortress occupied the summit of the rising ground on which it stands. Here, perhaps, some of the veterans or camp-followers were permitted to settle—raising their habitations on the banks of the adjacent stream, and cultivating their allotments of arable land under the protection of the mural garrison. This Military Station seems to have differed from all the others known of, in projecting outwards from the Wall, instead of being raised, as usual, within its line: hence, no doubt, the labour bestowed on its construction; since, although not of the largest size, the fort at Kirkintilloch seems to have been excelled by none in the strength of its defences.<sup>b</sup>

It had originally been of a square form, measuring, within the area, rather more than 300 feet upon each side. A great earthen rampart, from 40 to 50 feet in thickness, had surrounded this inclosure, having in front a capacious moat, not less than 30 feet wide, and of proportionate depth. Horsley says that the Peel of Kirkintilloch (the name by which the Roman station is generally known) presented, in his time, the appearance of having been fortified by a double wall of hewn stone—placed, we should suppose, on the top of the above-mentioned rampart; and adds that the stones had been strongly cemented with lime, and that many of them were chequered, in the manner usually practised by the Roman builders.<sup>c</sup> Although the greatest part of the ancient works have now been levelled, and every vestige of their masonry removed, there is still enough left to show the great size of the ditch, and the height of the earthen mound on which the walls had stood; so that the curious

<sup>a</sup> That is, supposing the Sixth to have been at Cadder.

<sup>b</sup> Timothy Pont calls it "the greatest fort of all"—*v. Gough's Camd. III. p. 361.* Mr. Ward makes Kirkintilloch the LINDUM of Ptolemy—*Idem*, p. 318.

<sup>c</sup> *Britann.* p. 169.

in such matters will not, we think, be disappointed in paying a passing visit to the Peel of Kirkintilloch.<sup>a</sup>

The situation of this station seems to have been nearly as good, in a military point of view, as was that on the Castle-hill to the east of Duntocher. Why the Wall should in this instance have been conducted to the south of the fort it is impossible to say: nothing in the nature of the ground appears to have called for such a deviation from the general practice; but without doubt there did exist some valid reason for this unusual arrangement, although none of our modern inquirers have been able to account for it. Like those at Duntocher and Bemulie, the station of Kirkintilloch stood near the point where the passage of a stream of water had caused a break in the Wall, and where, in consequence, an enemy might most likely have attempted to penetrate: wherever it happened, indeed, that any rivulet had crossed the line, too wide to be spanned by its ramparts, it is almost certain that a Fort had been established near the spot.

When the proprietor of the ground<sup>b</sup> was, many years ago, engaged in levelling a part of the station, he came upon numerous remains of ancient buildings, and found among them a bar of lead, marked with some Roman characters—not sufficiently legible to enable us to present the reader with a copy; but probably, like those which appeared on the block discovered at the mouth of the Almond, intended to indicate the weight of the metal, or bearing reference to some Imperial tax. Such blocks have been found at so many Roman Stations throughout the island, that we cannot hesitate to regard it as a relic of the Roman times—an early specimen of the staple commodity of the southern Britons, and of the mineral wealth which has so much enriched the country.

In PLATE X. *Fig. 5*, the reader will find the representation of a legionary stone, having a striking resemblance to the two which were mentioned in our notice of the station at East Kilpatrick. This was turned up near the Fort of Kirkintilloch, and is the only discovery of the kind which has been made about that station. It is of large size, larger indeed than any other found along the Wall, and measures above 5 feet in length by some

<sup>a</sup> Its distance from the *tumulus* at Cadder is 4450 yards—Roy, p. 159—i.e. rather more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  English miles.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Stewart of Kirkintilloch.



2½ in breadth. As in the case of the others just mentioned, it is divided into three compartments—that in the centre bearing the legend, and those at the sides embellished with the usual semi-circular carvings, terminating in eagles' heads. Although the stone is broken in two, and otherwise considerably injured, the inscription is still perfect, excepting at the end of the last line, where the number of the paces is totally obliterated: it is, in an extended form, as follows:—

IMPERATORI CAESARI TITO AELIO HADRIANO  
ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO, PATRI PATRIAE  
VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS SEXTAE VICTRICIS  
PERFECIT PER MILLE PASSUS\*

We cannot ascertain at what period this antique was brought to light; but it must have been at least some fifty or sixty years ago. It is likewise preserved in the Hunterian Museum.

Although we have had but one Inscription to notice in connection with the station at Kirkintilloch, the deficiency is in some degree counterbalanced by the existence of a singularly interesting relic, which was discovered in its vicinity while the works of the Forth and Clyde Canal were in progress. This is a bronze figure of Minerva, five inches in height, and such as we might rather have expected to see displayed amid the minor *reliquiae* of Herculaneum or Pompeii than taking its place among the antiquities of the Caledonian Wall. Coated as it is with the green rust of ages, there is still an elegance about this little image which stamps it as a genuine specimen of ancient art. The "martial goddess" is here represented as standing in an attitude of dignified repose—such an attitude as we may suppose her to have assumed, when she looked down from the rock of the Acropolis upon the wide-spread grandeur of her own ATHENÆ. She is accoutred with the *lorica* and helmet, and in one hand supports a spear, while the other rests upon a shield which bears the usual effigy of a Gorgon's head. The top of the spear is unfortunately broken off; but the remaining portion is worthy of notice, as presenting a very near resemblance to the lances made use of in the tournaments of the middle ages. Take it all in all, this diminutive statue forms one of the most interesting relics of the Roman era ever discovered in Scotland, and is certainly

\* Horsley, in allusion to a different inscription, considers "*Perfecit per Mille Passus*" to be quite a correct reading—*Britan.* p. 196.

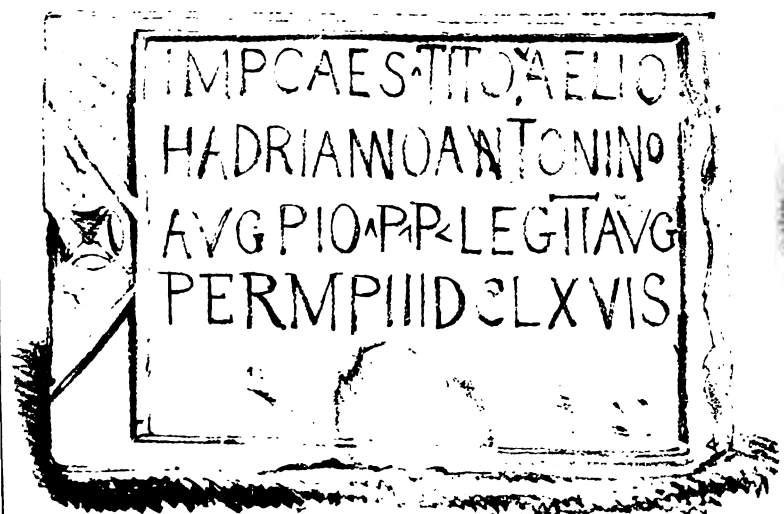
1



4



2



3



5



6



1/16

1/2



so far unique as to have no competitor to the north of the Tweed.<sup>a</sup> (*See PLATE X. Fig. 6.*)

After passing the Luggie or Logie Water at Kirkintilloch, the line of the Wall was carried along the edge of the slopes which overlook the Kelvin to the east of the town, until, after a somewhat sinuous course, it reached the Fort of AUCHINDAVY, situated at the distance of 3970 yards,<sup>b</sup> or rather more than a mile and two-thirds from the preceding station. Even in Horsley's time, upwards of a century ago, the traces of the work were, in this quarter, far from distinct, and since then they have become barely if at all discernible. Thanks, however, to those active hands which sometimes happen to restore when it is their purpose to destroy, we have generally been indebted to the innovations of improvement for the recovery of those scattered remains which make their appearance, from time to time, like so many landmarks amid the waters, to mark the place at which the once repelling shore had

“———— yielded to ocean's swell,  
And sank below.”

So has it happened at many a spot that we have lately passed; and here the same results await us as we pursue our way in places where, on the surface at least, the traces of the Roman footsteps exist no more.

For the next few miles, the field becomes, in fact, even more rich than usual in those remains which may be called the monumental fragments of the Roman occupation; but, henceforward, a remarkable difference begins to show itself between the inscriptions discovered towards the western extremity of the Wall, and those which have been brought to light to the eastward of Kirkintilloch. Hitherto, with one or two exceptions, we have met with none but what are called Legionary stones—solely commemorative of the labours of the soldiery; in future, however, these almost entirely disappear, and their place becomes occupied by Votive Altars, Sepulchral Monuments, and Miscellaneous Sculptures, on which, instead of those of the Roman Legions, the names of the Auxiliary Cohorts are most frequently visible.

Among the last of the Legionary class which fall under our notice, is a ponderous block of the common freestone of the district, carved in a somewhat

<sup>a</sup> It was presented to the Association of Scottish Antiquaries in 1786, and is now in their Museum at Edinburgh. Some Roman coins and the blade of a brass sword have likewise been found at Kirkintilloch.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, p. 159.

different style from any we have hitherto met with, which was discovered, some thirty or forty years ago, in the hollow of the Roman ditch, at that part of the line where it traverses the farm of Eastermains, about three quarters of a mile to the east of Kirkintilloch. This is another relic of the Twentieth Legion, *Valens Victrix*, and had been erected, as usual, to commemorate a part of its labours in the construction of the Wall. It measures 23 by 16½ inches, and contains, on the upper part of the front, upon what may be called a raised tablet, this brief inscription:—

LEG . XX.  
V.V. FEC.

LEGIO VICESIMA  
VALENS VICTRIX FECIT

Beneath this, on one side, is another part of the surface, left in relief, and bearing, as nearly as they can be distinguished, the letters and numerals—*MP III. IIICCCIV*; from behind which the figure of a boar is seen advancing towards a tree, that fills, in very diminutive proportions, the opposite corner of the stone. (*See PLATE X. Fig. 4.*)<sup>a</sup> The signification of the whole, no doubt, is, that the Twentieth Legion had executed a section of the Wall, measuring 3304 paces: there is, however, some difficulty experienced with the letters which precede the numbers *III CCC IV*. The first two stand, we may be certain, for the words *mille passus*; but as those between the two *P*'s are much obliterated, we cannot be positive as to their restoration, although there is certainly some appearance, at that part of the stone, of the three *r*'s, as we have given them above.<sup>b</sup>

Here, again, is the Caledonian boar—present, as he frequently is, where the Twentieth Legion is mentioned, and never found in company with any other: and here too, is, we may suppose, the oak, fit emblem of the shady forests through which he roamed at will, and of the country where the Wall was raised. We see this sculpture now, much in the same state as the eye of the passenger beheld it seventeen centuries ago, a memorial of the unceasing labours with which the soldiery of the empire had levelled the primitive woods,

<sup>a</sup> It now belongs to the collection of John Buchanan, Esq. Secretary to the Western Bank of Scotland, Glasgow. For many years this curious relic remained exposed on the top of an outhouse in the vicinity of the place where it was found. Thanks, however, to its present proprietor, it was rescued in time from the destructive effects of the weather, and is still in very fair preservation.

<sup>b</sup> Could the doubtful marks be converted into an *M*, the sentence might, perhaps, be read—*Murum Perfecit, (Per) Mille Passus (or Millia Passuum) Tria Trecentos Quatuor*.

and driven forth their savage inhabitants beyond the boundary of the Roman province.

But to resume our course; at the distance of rather more than a mile and three quarters from Kirkintilloch we reach the farm-house of AUCHINDAVY, situated within what was the area of the next Roman station to the east of the Peel. Until within the last twenty years, the outline of the ramparts, the excavation of the moats, and the general form of the inclosure, were tolerably distinct; but finding those "canals," as the trenches were called by the people of the neighbourhood, to be rather in his way, the proprietor of the ground has had the surface levelled, and almost every vestige of the ancient works removed.

This fort may be said to have belonged, at all events, to the second, if not to the first class of the Wall Stations. It measured within the interior *Valla* about 370 by 330 feet, and was defended with a triple line of ramparts and ditches—the military way passing, as in most of the other stations, directly through its centre.<sup>a</sup> The ground on which it stood is but slightly elevated, with a gradual descent towards the north; a century ago the place was marshy, and the trenches were for the most part filled with water:<sup>b</sup> at present it is thoroughly drained and cultivated, with little appearance of water in the vicinity, save where the glistening surface of the Forth and Clyde Canal shows itself beyond a small plantation to the south of the farm steading.

The continuous *fossé* still leaves some trace of its existence there, in a very slight indentation of the surface, which may be seen crossing the field immediately behind the dwelling-house and garden; and such is all that now remains of the Roman works constructed at Auchindavy. When Roy was at this place, the foundations of several ancient buildings were still visible within the area of the fort,<sup>c</sup> which might probably have continued to the present day in the same state as it had done for centuries before, but for the rapid advance that has been made in the improvement of the district, and in the cultivation of its former moorland heights and marshy hollows.

In reference to Auchindavy, Gordon observes that several Roman medals had been found there, besides a small altar, having a pediment supported by

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 160. Horsley states, however, (p. 169,) that the Roman *Via* led by the south side of the fort; but as Roy's survey was conducted with the utmost care, and as he was better acquainted with such matters, his observations are, perhaps, to be the most fully relied on.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, p. 169.

<sup>c</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 160.

two pilasters, which was built into the wall of a house in the neighbourhood, but so much defaced that the inscription was illegible.<sup>a</sup> Horsley takes notice of one or two others, in an equally mutilated condition, which were to be seen in his time, fixed upon some of the buildings in the vicinity of the station.<sup>b</sup> Down to that period, however, the surface of the ground had never perhaps been disturbed to any great extent, and many an interesting relic was therefore destined to remain unknown, until almost every external vestige of the Roman works had passed away.

But in later times the genius of "eld" has there, as in other places, struck her magic wand, and the hidden places of earth have been made to yield up a portion of their prey. Among the principal discoveries of recent years have been various fragments of Roman pottery—a deep hollow, containing charcoal and ashes—a deposit of stone bullets, about the size of 24-pound shot, lying many feet under the surface;<sup>c</sup> and a well of excellent water, surrounded with masonry, and covered by a stone slab, over which the soil had accumulated to a considerable depth. All these were found within what was the area of the station; the stone bullets had no doubt been at one time deposited beside some of the projectile engines which had stood upon the platform of the rampart; and the well is, we should say, unquestionably that which had supplied the ancient garrison.

In the spring of 1844 a curious but diminutive antique was found at Auchindavy; it is, apparently, a piece of *lapis lazuli*, oval in shape, and of an azure-blue colour, and seems to have been the stone of a seal or signet ring. Upon it is engraved a naked figure, standing beside a lighted altar, as if in the act of performing sacrifice, with a *patera*<sup>d</sup> in one hand, and what seems a bunch of grapes, or a branch of some shrub or tree, in the other. This little gem, as it may be called, was discovered in the open field, having been, no doubt, turned up by the plough a short time before it was observed:

<sup>a</sup> Itin. Sept. p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> Brit. Rom. p. 169. Gordon alludes to part of a stone Quern or hand-mill, discovered at Auchindavy, as a Roman relic. This is, we should imagine, a very doubtful conclusion. Such Querns are found in great numbers in almost every parish in Scotland.

<sup>c</sup> They are not perfectly globular, but very nearly so, and are, in general, of freestone. Upwards of fifty of them were discovered.

<sup>d</sup> A broad shallow ladle or bowl, with a handle, used for throwing the wine upon the altar, which was first poured into the *Patera* from the *Praefericulum* or vase.

it is at present fixed in a small mass of a brown earthy looking substance, which seems to be of a metallic nature, as if it were the original setting of the stone, partially melted, and mixed with clay or sand. We think there can be little doubt of its being a relic of the Roman times; it is known that *lapis lazuli* was a favourite mineral with the ancients for the ornamenting of their bracelets, *fibulæ*, rings, and other articles of *bijouterie*, as may be seen in the beautiful specimens which exist in various cabinets, particularly in that of the Royal Library at Paris. A representation of this intaglio, enlarged to twice the size of the original, is given in PLATE XI. *Fig. 6.*

But the most important discovery ever made at Auchindavy has yet to be mentioned—a discovery which throws into the shade anything of the kind hitherto met with among the stations on the Wall of Antoninus. This was the accidental opening, in the month of May, 1771, while the works of the Forth and Clyde Canal were in progress, of a pit nine feet in depth, situated just without the south-west angle of the fort, which contained four Roman altars, with part of a fifth, a mutilated stone figure, and two ponderous iron hammers. Three of the altars had been broken through the middle, and all were lying huddled together, as if they had been hastily thrown in, and then covered with earth to conceal them from view—telling, as they lay, a silent but expressive tale of the sudden order of retreat, the precipitate muster of the garrison, the hurried dismantling of the station, and of the retiring footsteps of the Legionary Cohorts, as they defiled upon a southern route; while, perhaps, the shouts of the advancing Britons were already heard in the distance—startling the wild boar in the woods beyond Inchtarf, and the water-fowl among the sedges of the Kelvin. The Roman soldiers would doubtless exert themselves to the utmost of their power, rather than permit the altars of their gods to fall into the sacrilegious hands of the barbarians; the pit had, accordingly, been hastily formed to receive them; and the iron hammers were likewise thrown into it; on account, we may suppose, of the ancient value of the metal, and to prevent them from becoming of service to the enemy.

The Four perfect Altars thus thrown together had been all erected by one individual, M. Cocceius Firmus, a Centurion in the Second Legion *Augusta*. They are executed in the best style of the Roman-British Inscriptions, and are of different sizes, varying from 28 to 41 inches in height. The largest,



which contains, it may be mentioned, several compound letters, is dedicated to Jupiter and to Victory, in the following words—the second column being an extension of the original, and the third a liberal translation:—

|                    |                    |   |
|--------------------|--------------------|---|
| I O M              | JOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO | <i>To Jove,</i>                         |
| VICTORIAE          | VICTORIAE VICTRICI | <i>The best and greatest,</i>           |
| VICTRIC PR° SALU   | PRO SALUTE IMPER-  | <i>(and) To Victory the Vanquisher,</i> |
| TE IMP ANT• ET SUA | ATORIS ANTONINI    | <i>For the welfare of the</i>           |
| SUORUM             | ET SUA SUORUM      | <i>Emperor Antoninus,</i>               |
| M COCCEI           | M. COCCEIUS FIRMUS | <i>and of his (Family),</i>             |
| FIRMUS             | CENTURIO LEGIONIS  | <i>M. Cocceius Firmus,</i>              |
| ) LEG II. AUG.     | SECUNDÆ AUGUSTÆ    | <i>Centurion in the Second</i>          |
|                    |                    | <i>Legion Augusta,</i>                  |
|                    |                    | <i>(Dedicates this.)</i>                |

(See PLATE XI. Fig. 3.)

The Second is inscribed, as copied below, to a whole list of the Immortals—to Mars, Minerva, the Field Deities, and Victory—besides, apparently, two others, called HERO and EPONA, regarding whom there is much field for conjecture. Professor Anderson imagined the former to be intended for some particular Hero whom Firmus worshipped, and the latter to be the name of a German goddess:—<sup>b</sup>

|                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| MARTI           | MARTI             |
| MINERVAE        | MINERVAE          |
| CAMPESTRI       | CAMPESTRIBUS      |
| BUS HERO ...    | HEROI EPONAE      |
| EPONA           | VICTORIAE         |
| VICTORIAE       | MARCUS COCCEIUS   |
| M. COCCEI       | FIRMUS            |
| FIRMUS          | CENTURIO LEGIONIS |
| ) LEG. II. AUG. | SECUNDÆ AUGUSTÆ   |

(See PLATE XI. Fig. 4.)

\* The above letters, ANT, are all three combined in the original. Professor Anderson, not observing the circumstance, has taken this “tied” letter for an N only, with a stroke above it; and he, accordingly, reads the line IMPERATORI NOSTRI, presuming, at the same time, that these Altars had *probably* belonged to the age of Agricola! (See his contribution to Roy’s work—*Milit. Antiq.* p. 202 and 204.) The A and L of the contraction SALU are likewise conjoined.

<sup>b</sup> He also gives another reading, in which the word CAMPESTRI is coupled with MINERVAE—making the dedication to the “Rural Minerva”—and for the word HEROI he supplies that of RUSHERIO—in his opinion another deity of the Germans. It seems, however, to be HEROI in the original.

The Third is in honour of Diana and Apollo, with the simple inscription:—

DIANAE  
APOLLINI  
M COCC-  
FIRMVS  
, LEG II AVG

DIANAE  
APOLLINI  
M COCCÆIUS  
FIRMUS  
CENTURIO  
LEGIONIS SECUNDÆ  
AUGUSTÆ

(See PLATE XI. Fig. 2.)

And, in the Fourth, we find this most liberal centurion bestowing a share of his regard on the tutelary Genius of our native Isle. It is inscribed with these words:—

GENIO  
TERRÆ  
BRITA  
NNICÆ  
M COCCÆI  
FIRMVS  
, LEG II AVG

GENIO  
TERRÆ  
BRITANNICÆ  
M COCCÆIUS  
FIRMUS  
CENTURIO  
LEGIONIS SECUNDÆ  
AUGUSTÆ

(See PLATE XI. Fig. 1.)

The fragment of the Fifth Altar, found along with the above, measures  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height; it is the upper part of the stone, and only contains the word SILVANO—the same Forest Deity whose name is mentioned in the dedication discovered in the neighbourhood of the Eildon Hills.<sup>a</sup>

Of the broken statue taken from the same pit we can now learn nothing: very probably it may be that given in PLATE XV. Fig. 3. We cannot, however, authenticate the fact; but unless this be the case, the statue found at Auchindavy has been destroyed or lost.<sup>b</sup>

All things considered, the antiquary has reason to feel not a little grateful to Cocceius Firmus for the considerable addition which he has been the means of making to the Roman antiquities of Scotland. His altars, although in some cases unfortunately broken in two, are still as fresh as when consigned to the earth; their forms are elegant, their ornaments not without taste, and the whole remain in such good preservation, that we might almost imagine we see the ashes of the sacrificial fire still clinging to the circles in which it

<sup>a</sup> v. *Ante*, p. 150.

<sup>b</sup> All these relics are deposited in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

had been lit. In reference to the inscriptions, there is nothing which calls for any particular remark—excepting, perhaps, as regards the pious dedicator, who appears to have, in some instances, exhibited a greater degree of freedom than was usual towards the divinities of Olympus; as we find him grouping on one solitary stone not only Mars and Minerva, but likewise some two or three of the minor powers, with whose company, in this off-hand sort of style, we should have thought that neither the god of warfare nor the daughter of Jove would have felt in any degree flattered. We have no doubt, however, from the many proofs of his devotion, that the centurion Firmus well knew what he was about, and should hope that he had long been “gathered” to his ancestors before the time arrived when it was found necessary to lay his *Aræ* in the dust.

In the Archaeologia of the London Antiquarian Society, there is mention made of a fragment of Roman sculpture said to have been found at Auchindavy, which the writer supposed had formed part of a laureated *Corona* dedicated to Mars.<sup>a</sup> We have given a representation of it in PLATE XI. *Fig. 5*. The following is a transcript of what remained of the inscription:—

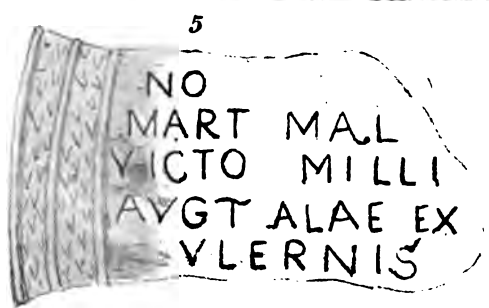
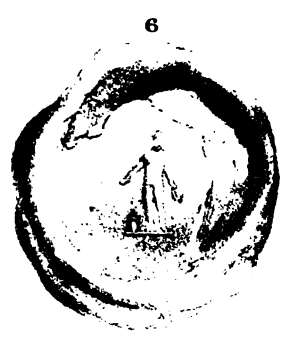
....NO... MART · MAL ... VICTO · MILLI...  
AVGT ALAE EX.... VLERNIS

Mr. Gough mentions, in his additions to Camden,<sup>b</sup> that there formerly existed the remains of a Roman bridge, consisting of five arches, which led across a morass in this neighbourhood. This bridge has not been taken notice of by any preceding author; but it may not unlikely have been a work of the legionary soldiers, by whom no labour was spared in improving the various localities in which they were settled.

From Auchindavy to the foot of the BARHILL, the traces of the Wall are entirely obliterated. On this section of its line, and about midway between these places, is situated the property of Shirva—a spot become in some degree celebrated on account of the many remains of antiquity discovered in its neighbourhood. It is not improbable that a colonial settlement may have been formed here, during the more peaceful times of the Roman occupation, and that some of the fields around had then,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. XXI. p. 455. This was, at one time, preserved at Shirva House, but is now destroyed.

<sup>b</sup> P. 357.





for the first time, been brought under cultivation; at all events it seems exceedingly probable that the vicinity of Shirva had been selected as the burial place of the neighbouring garrisons, whether it be that the monuments of their dead had stood amid the abodes of men, or in the solitude and silence of the adjacent thickets.

It is here that we make a first acquaintance, as it were, with the individual soldier, and single him out from the general mass, while perusing the dilapidated monuments which the hand of affection had placed beside his grave. It is here too we meet with the stone-built tomb—the family sepulchre perhaps of the captain of his band; and here we encounter the last of the legionary inscriptions which have yet been discovered along the course of the Wall.

The antiquities of Shirva seem all to have been brought to light about the same time, and while some excavations were being made at that place in the year 1728.<sup>a</sup> The first to be mentioned is a sepulchre of very singular construction, which was found in a *tumulus* situated close upon the line of the Wall. We have endeavoured to give a representation of its appearance in PLATE XII. *Fig. 4*, from a description which appears in the Appendix to Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*.<sup>b</sup> It was built of stone, of an elongated horse-shoe form, crossed near the open end, as may be seen in the drawing, by a bar of whinstone, and measured internally  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in width by from 8 to 9 in length. This subterranean structure lay east and west, and contained within it, leaning upon the opposite sides, the two pieces of sculpture exhibited in PLATE XII. *Figs. 2 & 3*.<sup>c</sup> They are both much mutilated, and, as a correspondent of Mr. Horsley's suggests, seem never to have been finished. How they should have been deposited in such a state, in the place where they were found, is more than can now be accounted for. They both represent reclining figures in Roman dresses—the one with the effigy of a dog standing at his feet, the other resting upon a car, with two animals of the same species harnessed at his back.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> v. Appendix to Gordon's *Itin.* pp. 5 and 6—Horsley, p. 199—and Gough's *Camden*, p. 359.

<sup>b</sup> This Appendix is rare, and only to be met with in a few copies of the work.

<sup>c</sup> One of them had its face, the other its back, towards the wall of the tomb.

<sup>d</sup> v. Rev. Mr. Robb's letter to Horsley, &c.—*Britan.* p. 339—and Appendix to Gordon's *Itin.* pp. 6 and 26.

There were also discovered at the same time, either at the sepulchre mentioned, or at a short distance from it,<sup>a</sup> the much obliterated bas-relief given in PLATE XII. *Fig. 5*, and a broken tomb-stone, with the following inscription:—

|             |                  |                             |
|-------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| D · M       | DIS MANIBUS      | <i>To the Shade</i>         |
| FLA' LVCLIA | FLAVIUS LUCIANUS | <i>Of Flavius Lucianus,</i> |
| NVS MILES   | MILES            | <i>A Soldier</i>            |
| LEG II AVG  | LEGIONIS SECUNDÆ | <i>Of the Second Legion</i> |
|             | AUGUSTÆ          | <i>Augusta.</i>             |

(See PLATE XII. *Fig. 6*.)

The first is supposed to be the figure of a Roman sentinel, standing with his *hasta* or spear in one hand, and carrying what resembles a small square box with an upright handle in the other. He appears to be dressed in the *sagum*, a description of cassock sometimes worn by the military, and wears on his head what Gordon took to be a Pannonian cap.<sup>b</sup> The second requires no comment; it tells its own tale as distinctly as do any of the modern "head-stones" which may be seen in the not far distant church-yard of Kilsyth.

To this venerable memento of the dead we have to add two others likewise discovered at Shirva, and of a similar character with the first. One of these is executed in much the same style, but is considerably more injured, and seems to contain only a portion of the original inscription, thus:—

|                |                       |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| D.M. VERECUNDÆ | DIS MANIBUS VERECUNDÆ |
|----------------|-----------------------|

(See PLATE XII. *Fig. 7*.)

The second is the work of a ruder period, or of a less practised hand, and, although the stone itself is broken into two pieces, the words of the dedication are nearly perfect. Opinions have varied a little as to their proper signification,<sup>c</sup> but the most plausible reading seems to be as follows:—

|                |                       |  |
|----------------|-----------------------|--|
| D · M          | DIS MANIBUS           | <i>To the Shade</i>                    |
| SALMAN         | SALMANIS              | <i>Of Salmanes,</i>                    |
| VIX · AN · X ✓ | VIXIT ANNOS QUINDECIM | <i>Who died at the age of Fifteen,</i> |
| SALMANES       | SALMANES              | <i>Salmanes</i>                        |
| POSUIT ·       | POSUIT                | <i>Has dedicated this.</i>             |

(See PLATE XII. *Fig. 8*.)

<sup>a</sup> Horsley, p. 339.

<sup>b</sup> Itin. Append. p. 6. Pennant, in his second Tour, (1772,) takes notice of a figure, very similar to the above, which was found, he says, at Netherhall in Cumberland.

<sup>c</sup> v. Horsley, p. 199.

We have here, in all probability, a record of paternal affection—Salmanes the father, to the departed spirit of Salmanes the son.<sup>a</sup> These inscriptions are each ornamented by a garland—conjectured by Mr. Horsley to be emblematic of youth; the last mentioned has likewise a flower on either side of the wreath—still more expressively typical of the springtide age of him who had been so early called

“To seek the shores by destiny designed.”

The *Dii Manes*, so frequently mentioned in the Roman monumental inscriptions, were variously regarded by the ancients; some ranking them among the *dii minores* or inferior deities; others supposing them to be a sort of genii or familiar spirits, who attended mankind from the cradle to the grave; while a third party clung to the belief which represented them as the ghosts or souls of the departed.<sup>b</sup> This last is no doubt the character in which they are referred to in our Scottish inscriptions, and such as they are meant to bear in several passages of the classic authors. Virgil gives, for instance, a singular picture of the purification undergone by those disembodied spirits, to cleanse them from the sins contracted in this lower world. The shade of Anchises is made to inform Æneas, that

“For this are various penances enjoined,  
And some are hung to bleach upon the wind;  
Some plunged in waters, others purged in fires,  
Till all the dregs are drained, and all the rust expires.  
All have their *manes*, and those *manes* bear:  
The few, so cleansed, to these abodes repair,  
And breathe, in ample fields, the soft Elysian air.”<sup>c</sup>

With the exception of a place called the Mumerills, to the east of Falkirk, Shirva is the only spot along the Wall where any of those sepulchral stones have been found; from which circumstance it may be inferred that a regular cemetery had existed there in Roman times. The few monuments discovered

<sup>a</sup> Gordon, Append. pp. 6 and 8.

<sup>b</sup> c. Horsley, p. 199.

<sup>c</sup> Æneid, Lib. VI. Dryden's Translation.—See likewise Lib. III. p. 62, as quoted by Horsley—

“Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus et ingens  
Aggeritur tumulo tellus: stant manibus aræ:”

and also Lib. VI.



are in themselves scarcely sufficient, perhaps, to prove that the neighbouring garrisons had all buried their dead at that one place. But as no other sepulchral stone has been met with until we approach the Firth of Forth, it seems very probable that the funeral march of the cohorts was often directed to the neighbourhood of Shirva. And who can tell how many similar mementos of the dead have been destroyed, or how many may still lie hidden there?

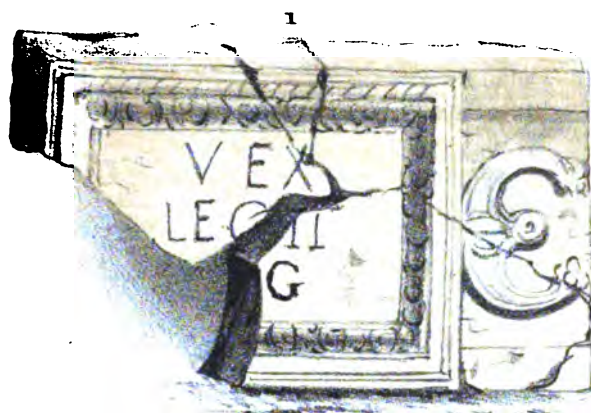
The last of the Roman remains which have been brought to light in this quarter is a much broken slab, which had measured, when entire,  $45\frac{1}{2}$  by  $30\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and on which an oblong border of rather elegant design incloses the letters VEX. LEG. II. . . . G.—sufficient to show that it had been erected by the Vexillation of the Second Legion *Augusta*. (See PLATE XII. Fig. 1.) This concludes the series of the Legionary Inscriptions discovered on the line of the Wall. Equal to the best of them in style of execution, it appears before us more dilapidated than any—the last and the most shattered of the number—fit emblem of the ruin which has involved to the merest fragments the whole gigantic pile of Roman power.<sup>a</sup>

About Shirva, all traces either of the rampart or of the ditch have disappeared, nor can any traces of them be again distinguished until we ascend the Barhill, which rears its summit at a short distance to the eastward. This height rises in a somewhat conical form, to an elevation of, we should say, about five or six hundred feet, terminating in two separate peaks, of which that to the south is somewhat the highest. It is nearly equi-distant from the two extremities of the Isthmus, and is the loftiest ground traversed by the Wall. The view from its summit is very extensive, embracing to the south a wide extent of country, and only bounded on the east and west by the glistening waters of the two opposite Firths. It was probably from this point that Agricola looked around him, when he first became aware of the peculiar geographical character of the district which enabled him to extend a line of forts from sea to sea; and his troops may have been the first of the Romans who established their quarters on its wind-beaten summit.<sup>b</sup>

To Lollius Urbicus the importance of this position was no doubt equally

The antiquities discovered at Shirva are all deposited in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

<sup>b</sup> v. Roy, p. 160.



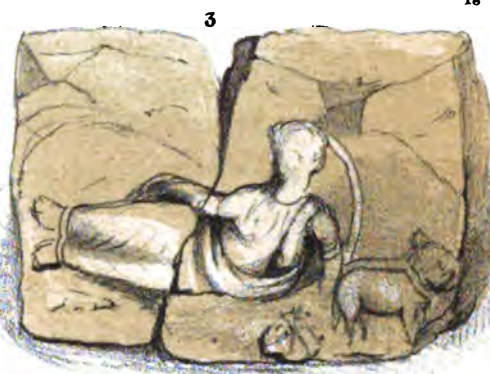
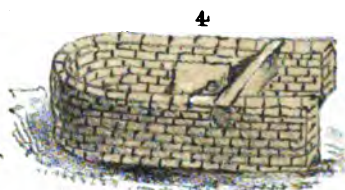
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apparent, not only on account of its natural strength, but of the facilities which it afforded of surveying the country for a great distance around, and of communicating by signal with many of the other garrisons on the line of his great rampart. A reference to Section III. of our PLAN will enable the reader to form an idea of the course of the Wall, as it ascended this rising ground towards the next of the *Prætentura*, which stood of old on a level part of the height, about a furlong distant to the west of the northern or lowest of the two peaks.

The fort on Barhill was of a large size, and very strongly entrenched; measuring within the inclosure 340 feet square, and defended by a double circuit of ramparts.<sup>a</sup> At one time the foundations of ancient buildings were exceedingly numerous here. Horsley observed several distinct lines of such ruins, and declares that, when he visited it, the site of the *Prætorium* was perfectly distinguishable.<sup>b</sup> Many of these, indeed, have only been recently removed, to supply materials for building, or to serve the purpose of inclosing the adjacent fields. The traces of the Barhill station are still, however, to be faintly observed, while the hollow of the great ditch remains in excellent preservation near them.<sup>c</sup>

Unlike those we have passed, this station stood detached from the Wall, and was situated a few yards to the south of its course. According to some accounts, the Military Way divided at this spot into two branches, one of them passing by the northern side of the fort, while the other led directly through it. Both lines appear to have been perfectly distinct when Horsley visited the spot.

Although the ancient defenders of this mountain post have not vanished from the scene without leaving behind them some other memorials of their presence than are to be found in the vestiges of their entrenchments, and the solid foundations of the buildings which these inclosed, still we have little to detain us here, in comparison with those discoveries which arrested our steps at the majority of the preceding stations.

<sup>a</sup> Roy, p. 156, who states its distance from Auchindavy at 3450 yards. Horsley says that it had been protected by treble envelopes on all sides but the north—p. 169.

<sup>b</sup> P. 169.

<sup>c</sup> Roy mentions that the Wall had been, at this place, raised upon a stone foundation.

The only inscription which can be distinctly traced to Barhill is one taken notice of by Gordon; and which he describes as being cut upon the fragment of a pillar. It is as follows:—

IMP CAES  
TAE HADRI  
ANTONIN<sup>o</sup>  
AVG PIO PP  
VEXILLATIOVS\*

IMPERATORI CAESARI  
TITO AELIO HADRIANO  
ANTONINO  
AUGUSTO PIO PATRI PATRIAE  
VEXILLATIO VOTUM SOLVIT

(See PLATE XIII. Fig. 2.)

The Vexillation of a Legion, not named, enregisters here a record of their homage to the “Father of his Country”—less anxious, apparently, to be itself remembered than to do all honour to the Imperial name.

In addition to this, two Roman altars were discovered at the same station, one of which Gordon found deposited at Auchinvole—a country seat in the neighbourhood. Either it had never borne an inscription, or the words were entirely effaced before he saw it; for he simply remarks that it contained on one side the representation of a quiver full of arrows, and on another that of a bow; a copy of his drawing is given in PLATE XIII. Fig. 8; by which it appears that on a third side there had been sculptured the figure of a laurel wreath. The other he met with in the vicinity of the fort: on one face of it was represented the *Patera*, on another the *Præfericulum*; both, as formerly mentioned, instruments used on sacrificial occasions: but no traces of any dedication remained.<sup>b</sup> (See PLATE XIII. Fig. 3.)

Some vaults were, about the year 1790, laid open on Barhill, covered with flat bricks, as were those at Duntocher.<sup>c</sup> Roman coins have likewise been met with at the same spot, several of which—*denarii* of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, in the highest state of preservation—were procured by Professor Anderson, and are now deposited at Glasgow, in the museum of the institution which bears his name.

Sir R. Sibbald reports, that there was at one time to be seen at

\* *Itin.* p. 55. In Plate XIII. Figs. 5 and 6, we give drawings of part of a quern or hand-mill, and the top of a stone pillar, recently found near the Roman fort on the Barhill.

<sup>b</sup> *Itin.* Septen. p. 55. Gordon presented one of them to Baron Clerk, of Penicuik—the other was then in the possession of the Provost of Linlithgow, (Mr. Glen).

<sup>c</sup> New. Stat. Acc.

"Mon'yabroch," the old name of Kilsyth, a Roman inscription, which he thus copies,

D.M.C. IVLI MARCELLINI. PRAEF. COH. I. HAMIOR.\*

and which may very probably have been taken from the Barhill fort. It was apparently a monumental stone, erected to the *Dii Manes* of Caius Julius Marcellinus, præfect of the first cohort of the *Hamii*—auxiliaries, it is probable, from the neighbourhood of the Elbe.<sup>b</sup>

From this station the track of the ditch continues in tolerable preservation: making, in the first instance, a considerable *detour*, in order to inclose, as it were, the northern summit of the height; and then, descending the slopes to the eastward, it proceeds across some irregular ground towards an opposite eminence, called Croy Hill.<sup>c</sup> Next to the site of the fort last mentioned, this is the highest position traversed by the line of the Roman works, and here likewise the hollow of the ditch is at many points exceedingly distinct—passing over rough and broken ground, and cut in some places through the solid rock. At certain parts upon Croy Hill, where the ascent is very precipitous, the fosse had been dispensed with, and the Wall was carried forward within a few yards of the brink. Nowhere along the whole line had, to all appearance, so much labour been expended as here, in overcoming the natural obstacles of the country. And when it is considered that the Roman soldiers were deficient in much of that knowledge which enables the modern engineer to make light of the greatest difficulties which obstruct his way, we can more fully appreciate the exertions which had been made to carry those ancient entrenchments over the heights of Croy.

It is generally supposed that a garrison station had existed near their eastern extremity, at a point distant some 3200 yards from the Barhill fort.<sup>d</sup> This is exceedingly probable, as the above may be considered about an average distance between the several *Prætenturæ* on the line of the Wall; and as that position is, in reality, the only suitable one which presents itself until we arrive at the next of the ascertained stations, situated about three miles to the east of Barhill.

\* Histor. Inq. p. 30. This inscription is taken notice of both by Camden and Scaliger.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley seems to have been unable to trace this antique—*v.* Britan. Rom. p. 206.

<sup>c</sup> From Barhill the causeway kept at the distance of about 70 paces from the Wall, and the ditch was occasionally from 34 to 37 feet wide.—Gordon, p. 56.

<sup>d</sup> Roy, p. 160; who states that, at Croy Hill, the foundation of the Wall was of stone.

We cannot discover that any traces of this supposed fort have ever been visible in modern times; but, from the discovery of several inscribed stones in the neighbourhood, its former existence may perhaps be safely assumed.\* Two of these were small rude blocks, similar to that met with at Cramond; one of them contained the letters LEG VI VIC P.F. (*LEGIO SEXTA VICTRIX PIA FIDELIS*), the other the simple contraction LEG V, which Gordon read as *LEGIO QUINTA*, but which Horsley, with more probability, took to signify *LEGIO VICTRIX*, as the Fifth Legion had never, apparently, been stationed in Britain.<sup>b</sup>

At the house of Nether Croy, situated in the low grounds to the north of Croy Hill, are two pieces of Roman sculpture and a votive Altar, which are said to have been found in the immediate vicinity of the height in question. The former are placed in the wall of the building, the latter stands in a green plot immediately adjoining. The exact period of their discovery cannot now be determined; but it would seem that they had all been discovered between the time of Horsley's visit, which occurred in or about the year 1730, and the beginning of the present century.<sup>c</sup>

The first of these sculptures is a mere fragment, representing a female passing through a doorway, between two spirally ornamented columns, as if in the act of leaving the bath; while to her left another figure rests upon one knee, in a half reclining posture, under the fragmentary portion of a laurel wreath. (See PLATE XIII. Fig. 1.)

The second represents three Roman soldiers in the dress usually worn by the *Hastati* of the legions—two of them are armed with spears, and rest their *Scuta* or bucklers upon the ground, while the third carries a sword, and raises his shield as if awaiting an attack: the last mentioned has what appears to be a small target or breast-plate hanging from his neck, and covering the lower part of his body: none of the three wear any description of helmet or cap. (See PLATE XIII. Fig. 4.)

A writer in the *Archæologia* of the London Antiquarian Society imagines these figures to represent the Emperor Severus and his two sons Caracalla

\* In our PLAN of the WALL, the supposed stations are inserted in dotted lines.

<sup>b</sup> *Itin.* Sept. p. 56, *Britan.* p. 200. The expression *Legio Augusta* was, it seems, sometimes used, and why not, he says—*Legio Vicitrix*?

<sup>c</sup> The altar is the most recently discovered, and may have been found at a somewhat later period, although we have not been able to ascertain the particulars.

and Geta.<sup>a</sup> On what reasonable grounds it is impossible to discover; as there is nothing whatever of an imperial cast in their appearance, and it would certainly seem rather an odd circumstance to find the aged sovereign of the Roman world, with his two immediate heirs, exhibited upon our Caledonian Wall in the characters of common soldiers—accoutred in the dress of the heavy-armed foot, bucklers, *hasta*, and all. At one time there was, we are told, a short inscription to be seen on this stone, which happened to be broken off by the workman employed in placing it where it now stands. Had any memorandum of the contents been preserved, we might possibly have been able to say something of its history; but, as it is, the attempt to connect the figures in question with the name of Severus, or of any particular individual whatever, is one of those things which tends to throw a questionable light around the pursuits of the antiquary, and to call forth many a dubious smile at his expense. Although much injured by exposure to the weather, these two specimens of ancient art still exhibit traces of design and execution equal, if not superior, to anything of the kind to be met with among the other antiquities of North Britain; while there can be no question whatever as to the fact of their having descended to our times from the era of the Roman occupation.

The altar which stands at Nether Croy was found in a somewhat mutilated state: the inscription, however, had escaped uninjured; and as the deficiency has been supplied by modern hands, this venerable monument appears on the whole to be but little injured by the assaults of time. A representation of it is given in PLATE XIII. *Fig. 7.* Its height is 38, its breadth about 14 inches, and it is dedicated to the genii of the woods and streams, as follows:—

NYMPHIS  
VEXILLATIO  
LEG VI VIC  
P F SVB FA  
BIO BERA<sup>b</sup>

NYMPHIS  
VEXILLATIO  
LEGIONIS SEXTAE VICTRICIS  
PIAE FIDELIS, SUB  
FABIO BERA

*To the Nymphs,  
The Vexillation  
Of the Sixth Legion, the Victorious,  
Pious and Faithful,  
Under the command of  
Fabius Bera,  
(Dedicates this.)*

<sup>a</sup> Vol. xxi.

<sup>b</sup> The name *Bera* is likewise to be met with in Gruter, *s.g.* Pt. II. p. 857. In the line above this there is room for a letter after the P.F., probably obliterated, and which may have been a P, for *Posuit*.



The inscription is well executed, and seems to belong to the second century. The fairy spirits to whom it was dedicated were no doubt supposed to trip, with invisible steps, the thickets around—pleased with the votive offerings of military devotion, and not unmindful of their worshippers amid the dangers of the service. It mattered not where the ancient Roman might be placed, as the thousand guardian deities of his prolific religious system were ever around him. Among the forests of Britain, as in the desert plains of Africa, he addressed himself to the *genii locorum* in perfect confidence of spirit—satisfied that the Immortals were of no particular clime, but alike open to his aspirations in every quarter of the world.

The next station to the eastward was that of WESTERWOOD, distant from Croy Hill rather more than a mile and two-thirds.<sup>a</sup> Along the whole of this track, the course of the ancient *fossé* is discernible, being for some distance occupied by a country road, and crossed about midway by the line of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway. Along this section the ground is comparatively low, with a slight declination on the north, towards the level surface of the Dullatur Bog.<sup>b</sup> The fort of Westerwood had been one of the third or weakest class; and, but for the impassable swamps which must in ancient times have extended in front of its position, might be considered as one of the most exposed along the Wall. We may believe, however, that the marshes of Dullatur had afforded so certain a protection, for at least a mile or two, in this neighbourhood, that the station, such as it was, had proved amply sufficient for the purpose intended.

The area of this fort had measured about 370 by 320 feet,<sup>c</sup> and was surrounded by a single rampart and ditch. In Gordon's time, the site of the *Prætorium*, near the centre of the inclosure, was perfectly distinct; while, built in the cottages which then stood in its neighbourhood, he observed many fragments of Roman sculpture—amongst others a very singular one, of a style which we may suppose was not uncommon among the Lampsacenians of ancient Mysia.<sup>d</sup> The *Valla* of this fort are now entirely levelled, and it does not appear that any other remains than the fragments mentioned by Gordon have

<sup>a</sup> i.e. 3080 yards—Roy, p. 160.

<sup>b</sup> From the number of large fir trees found in the adjoining mosses, this seems to have been at one time a much-wooded district—c. Hors. p. 170.

<sup>c</sup> c. Roy's Plan.

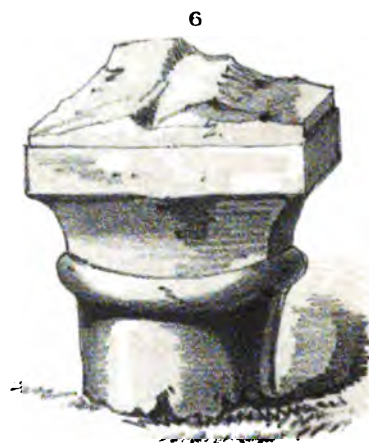
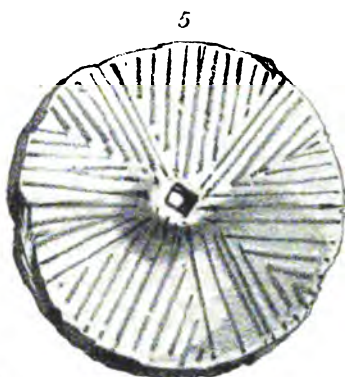
<sup>d</sup> Itin. Septen. p. 56.



NETHER CROY.



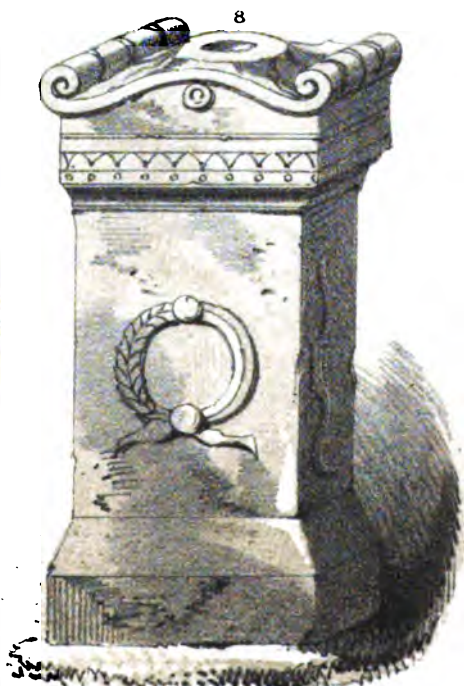
NETHER CROY.



NETHER CROY.



FOUND  
NEAR KILSYTH.



of a Roman colony to have stood under the *ægis* of its protection.<sup>a</sup> In Roy's opinion, this may have been the *Coria* of the *Damnii*, which Ptolemy places on the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde.<sup>b</sup>

Long before it was extensively laid open, the site of the station was known to be raised to the extent of eight or ten feet above its natural level, owing to the great quantity of ancient ruins which were accumulated below the surface.<sup>c</sup> The first remarkable exposure of its hidden contents, that we can hear of, occurred in the year 1769; when the workmen employed upon the neighbouring canal were in search of building materials. On removing, in course of their operations, a quantity of rubbish from within the south-east angle of the fort, they came upon the foundations of eight apartments, laid off, we are told, in the style adopted by Palladio—connected with which were the remains of a *Sudarium* or hot bath; the ground plan of the whole being distinctly visible, as given in PLATE XIV. *Fig. 12.*<sup>d</sup> Within the line of walls were found a number of human bones, pieces of pottery, and some boars' tusks, together with an altar to Fortune, which had been erected, as the following copy of the inscription informs us, by the united Vexillations of the Second and Sixth Legions.<sup>e</sup>

FORTVNAE  
VEXILLA  
TIONES  
LEG II AVG  
LEG VI VIC  
P S P L †

FORTUNAE  
VEXILLATIONES  
LEGIONIS SECUNDAE AUGUSTAE  
LEGIONIS SEXTAE VICTRICIS  
PRO SALUTE POSUERUNT LIBENTES

(See PLATE XIV. *Fig. 10.*)

This stone, like two of those discovered at Auchindavy, stands upon a kind

<sup>a</sup> To this day, great numbers of the stones which had been prepared by the Roman pick-axe may be distinguished by their chequered appearance in the walls which line the high-road between the bridge over the canal and the viaduct at Castlecary.

<sup>b</sup> v. Ptolemy's Map—and Roy, p. 123—who likewise makes it out to be the *Caer Cari* of Nennius.

<sup>c</sup> v. Nimmo's Stirlingshire.

<sup>d</sup> See Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 161—and Profesor Anderson's additions to the vol. p. 200.

<sup>e</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>†</sup> There is a letter illegible in the last line, which was most probably an L, in which case it would read *Posuerunt Libentissime*, or, according to Anderson, *Libentes Libentur*. This stone was presented to the College of Glasgow by Sir Laurence Dundas, and is now in the Hunterian Museum.

of pedestal, as perhaps all such altars originally did; although it is but in few instances that these pieces have been preserved.

For the next two years the operations of the workmen would seem to have been suspended; but on their resumption in 1771 several additional discoveries were made at this station. These consisted chiefly of the ruins of ancient buildings; but they likewise included the upper part of an altar inscribed with the word *DEAE*—(See PLATE XIV. Fig. 9)—and a small human figure, rudely executed in *alto relievo*, which stands within a stone niche, measuring fifteen inches in height. This is conjectured to be a representation of Fortune; from the circumstance, that with one hand it supports a *Cornucopia*, while the other rests upon a peculiar looking instrument, the lower portion of which bears some resemblance to a wheel.<sup>a</sup> (See PLATE XIV. Fig. 8.)

In the same year, while some labourers were employed to the west of the station, and immediately beyond the highway to Stirling, they discovered a large hollow in the rock, containing nearly a hundred quarters of wheat, quite hard and black, and mixed with numerous pieces of charred wood, as if the whole had been exposed to the action of fire. It was scattered about the ground, and some of it lay exposed for many years: a few particles, indeed, may still be seen about the spot, by turning aside the tufts of grass under which they are concealed.<sup>b</sup> So large a quantity of grain would never have been thus abandoned, unless by the hasty and final departure of those who were alone acquainted with the secret of its existence—hence the common opinion which supposes it to have formed part of the stores of the Roman garrison.<sup>c</sup>

But long before these several remains were brought to light, many others had been accidentally met with at Castlecary. The earliest discoveries of which we have any distinct account, are those mentioned by Gordon, who takes notice, in the first instance, of the fragment of an altar, inscribed *LEGIO BRITANNORVM*,<sup>d</sup> and then introduces the following, as having been found at the same station.

<sup>a</sup> Both are now in the Hunterian Museum.

<sup>b</sup> A small quantity is now in the possession of John Buchanan, Esq. Glasgow.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, p. 161.—Nimmo's Stirling, 1818, p. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Gordon states that he did not see this stone. His account of the inscription may therefore be incorrect; and he is supposed to refer to an altar mentioned by Sibbald, who

A small and very rudely executed Altar, bearing the words:—

MILITES VEX III

(See PLATE XIV. Fig. 6.)

The fragment of another, inscribed:—

P S SVSLM

(See PLATE XIV. Fig. 7.)

And part of a third, on which the only vestige of the inscription which remained, were the letters:—

.... H BAT ....

(See PLATE XIV. Fig. 4.)

The first of the three we should take to be *MILITES VEXILLATIONIS TERTIÆ*.<sup>a</sup> Of the second, it is impossible to determine more than that the four last letters undoubtedly stand for the expression *VOTUM SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO*: while the third seems to present a portion of the words *COHORS BATAVORUM*.<sup>b</sup> Besides these inscriptions, Gordon mentions an antique brass lamp, and a number of urns of fine red clay, which he saw at this station.

To the preceding we have to add a much more perfect memorial of its Roman occupants—a middle sized slab, very similar to many of the legionary stones formerly mentioned, which was found at Castle Cary in the year 1764, and which seems to allude to some portion of the Wall, executed, as the inscription informs us, by the First Cohort of the Tungrian Auxiliaries. The following is a copy, accompanied, as usual, with an explanation of the contractions:—

IMP · CÆS · TÆL ANT  
AVG · PIO · PP  
COH I TVNGRO  
EVM FECIT (P) c

IMPERATORI CÆSARI TITO AELIO  
ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO PATRI PATRIÆ  
COHORS PRIMA TUNGRORUM  
FECIT MILLE PASSUS

(See PLATE XV. Fig. 10.)

gives the inscription thus:—*MATRIBUS MILITES LEGIO XXVI. BRITON, V.S.L.*—See Horsley, p. 202, and Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 7.

<sup>a</sup> An expression not easily to be accounted for, with all the knowledge we possess of what the "Vexillation" really was.

<sup>b</sup> v. Gordon's Itin. p. 57.


<sup>c</sup> It measures 42 by 21 inches, and is preserved in the Hunterian Museum, having been presented to the College of Glasgow by Sir Laurence Dundas, Bart.

This stone may be called unique, as being the only one of the kind yet discovered which had been erected by other than Roman soldiers; as, with this exception, we only find the Auxiliary Cohorts mentioned in sepulchral inscriptions or on votive Altars. Here, too, the dipthong *Æ* appears, for the first time, in our course along the Wall. The hieroglyphic figure which follows the word *Fecit* we have already seen made use of to signify a thousand paces; and such, in all probability, is likewise its meaning in the present instance.<sup>a</sup>

From the time when the formation of the Canal led to the exposure of the Bath, and other remains of Roman architecture, at Castlecary, exactly seventy years were destined to elapse before another occasion should be found for disturbing the buried remains of its ancient importance. We, in consequence, hear of no additional discoveries having been effected there, until we descend into the circle of recent years, and have before us, as it were, the crowd of busy hands breaking ground on the site of the Roman works, to prepare a passage for the line of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway.

The operations for this undertaking were entered upon at Castlecary, in the year 1841, when about twelve perpendicular feet of soil were removed from within the limits of the Roman station. This soil, if it can be so called, was in many places almost one entire mass of broken stones mingled with fragments of pottery, among which last were many pieces of jars, vases, and basins—some of a cream colour, and others of a lively red, elegantly ornamented with flowers and figures.<sup>b</sup> Such were the first fruits of the excavations of 1841; but as the labours progressed in and around the site of the ancient fort, several more important relics were successively discovered.

These are all either of the inscribed or sculptured class; and that which claims precedence, as having been dug up within the station itself, is a small

<sup>a</sup> The figure (  ) was likewise used to distinguish the "Milliarian," or, as we might call them, the "Grenadier" Cohorts; but, in the position occupied by the above, this signification can scarcely be attached to it.

<sup>b</sup> Many of these were recklessly destroyed by the workmen. Several were however preserved, and are now, we believe, in the possession of the proprietor of the ground—the Earl of Zetland. We have given a drawing of one of these fragments, representing part of a female bust, in PLATE XIV. Fig. 5. In addition to the above, there were found numerous pieces of a substance which our informant supposed to have been portions of plate armour, and which crumbled into dust whenever handled.

oblong stone of what is called the Centurial kind, measuring 15 by 11½ inches, and bearing the following words:—

CHOVI  
O ANTO  
ARATI

COHORTIS SEXTAE  
CENTURIA ANTONII  
ARATI

(See PLATE XIV. Fig. 1.)

That is, the building to which it referred had been erected by the *Centuria* or company of the Sixth Cohort, which belonged to, or, in other words, was commanded by Antonius Aratus. The same marks which were made use of to represent the word *Centurio*, a captain,<sup>a</sup> were likewise employed to denote that of *Centuria*, the division or company of a hundred men which were under his command: the one employed in the present instance is a c reversed—thus o. It will also be observed, that, in the contraction of the word *Cohortis*, there is a transposition of the letter h and o: this is, however, by no means an uncommon circumstance among the Roman inscriptions in general, as we find it frequently so in the elaborate work of Gruter, which has been already more than once referred to.<sup>b</sup>

The next that comes under our notice is a well preserved altar of a small size, which was discovered to the westward of the fort, and not far from the spot where the wheat was found in 1771. It measures 19½ inches in height, and bears these words, in perfectly legible characters:<sup>c</sup>—

DEO  
MERCURIO  
MILITES LEG VI  
VICTRICIS PLE F  
ID ET—SICILI<sup>d</sup>  
CIVES ITALICI  
ET NORICI,  
V S L L P M

DEO  
MERCURIO  
MILITES LEGIONIS SEXTAE  
VICTRICIS PLE FIDELIS  
ET, SICILIE CIVES,  
ITALICI ET NORICI,  
VOTUM SOLVERUNT LIBENTISSIME  
POSUERUNT MERITO

<sup>a</sup> Such as c, o, y, f, and some others more rarely met with.

<sup>b</sup> See, for instance, Part I. p. 516, Fig. 4—p. 526, Fig. 11—and p. 536, Fig. 8. This stone belongs to the Earl of Zetland, and is at present deposited in the Old Tower of Castle-cary, about half-a-mile to the south of the Railway Viaduct.

<sup>c</sup> Now in the possession of John Buchanan, Esq. Secretary to the Western Bank of Scotland, Glasgow.

<sup>d</sup> There is some indistinctness in the inscription at this place; but, no doubt, the letters A E, or the dipthong Æ, should occupy the *hiatus*.

<sup>e</sup> Horsley thinks that the word *Milites*, when it appears in inscriptions, had been used to designate the foot soldiers, in contradistinction to the cavalry.—Brit. p. 95.



*To the god Mercury, the soldiers of the Sixth Legion,\* the Victorious, Pious, and Faithful—Natives of Sicily, Italy, and Noricum. Their vow being most willingly fulfilled.*

From the appearance of this altar—the form of the letters, the character of their combinations, and the number of arbitrary marks or dashes which it contains—we should suppose it to have been executed at a much later period than any of the stones which refer to the construction of the Wall. We have frequently had occasion to mention the *Legio Sexta Victrix*, but never with any particular knowledge of its history, until this little antique came forth from its long concealment, to tell us of the various nations which had contributed to swell its ranks. From the banks of the upper Danube, the plains of Megara or of Agrigentum, and from the bounteous fields of Italy herself, the young and the stout-hearted had been called, it would appear, to experience a long, if not a perpetual exile, in the comparatively inglorious and harassing service of defending the Caledonian frontier. As the Sixth legion is supposed to have remained for several centuries in Britain,\* it is most probable that numbers of those men, drafted from the south of Europe to recruit its ranks, were fated to pass their whole existence in this remote corner of the world. To many, such a prospect was perhaps far from repulsive, as they may have looked forward to the possession of some of those grants of land which were bestowed on the Roman soldier when his period of service was expired; still, the recollections of home and country had not, as we see, been altogether eradicated from among them, and often may the thoughts of the legionary veteran have rested upon the associations of his earlier days, when, as on the stone before us, the name of Sicily or Noricum was presented to his view.

Besides the above, another Roman Altar was discovered in the same vicinity. It is of a larger size than the preceding—measuring 32½ inches in height—but has been so much injured by some former exposure to the elements, that a great part of the inscription is now illegible. The following is a transcript of all that can be deciphered. In the parallel column we have

\* See a few Historical notices of this corps introduced towards the end of the volume.



introduced what we conjecture to be a correct restoration of some of the words: <sup>a</sup>—

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| --- O    | de O             |
| --- ANO  | siloANO          |
| -----    | COHORS           |
| --- ∞ b  | prima            |
| CVI ---  | --- milliaris    |
| -----    | CUI praesest     |
| VERVS PR | -----            |
| V -- L-- | VERUS PRAEFECTUS |
|          | VOTUM solvit     |
|          | LIBENS merito    |

(See PLATE XIV. Fig. 2.)

*To the god Silvanus, the First Cohort, . . . . Milliarian—Commanded by  
 . . . . . Verus Praefect. A vow he willingly discharges.*

In the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, mention is made of an inscription, said to have been found at “Cadir, in Sterlingshire,” which has a striking resemblance to the above, as far as its imperfect condition will enable us to judge. The transcript given in that work is as follows—*DEO SILVANO L. TANICUS VERUS PRAEF. V.S. L.L. M.*—which makes it not improbable that the altar so recently discovered near Castlecary had been set up under the auspices of the same officer. The stone alluded to in the Oxford publication had disappeared more than a hundred and twenty years ago, as Mr. Horsley could discover no traces of its existence; the “Cadir,” where it is said to have been found, is no doubt Cadder<sup>c</sup>—the supposed site of the sixth station on the line of the Wall.

The last object of antiquity we have to notice, in connection with Castlecary, is a rude but curious piece of ancient carving which was dug up in its vicinity; and which, from its close resemblance to some of the sculptures noticed by Mr. Gough, in his account of the Roman antiquities of England, forms a link, as it were, between the military colonists of the supposed *CORIA DAMNIOBUM*, and those who were established towards the south of the Island.

<sup>a</sup> Now in the possession of Mr. Forrest, Johnston Cottage, parish of Cadder.

<sup>b</sup> Here we no doubt have the figure which was used to designate the *First* and principal Cohort of the Legion. It was more numerous than the others, and, under the later Emperors, was composed of 1105 infantry and 132 cavalry soldiers—*v. Roy*, p. 37. Hyginus gives it exactly a thousand men—*viz.* 760 foot and 240 horse.

<sup>c</sup> Often erroneously called Calder.



11

On a long-shaped block of freestone—measuring 27 by 9 inches, and which had evidently been taken from the front of a wall—we have the representation of two stags, in the midst of what is intended for a wood or thicket, butting at each other, with their foreheads in close contact, and their antlers intertwined; while on one side stands a human figure, dressed in what we should call the military tunic and hose, who, with a bow bent to its utmost stretch, is preparing to make sure of one of the combatants; at the opposite end of the stone appears something like another huntsman standing erect—but this part of the sculpture is too much obliterated to be clearly distinguished. The whole is executed in a very rude style, and must belong to a period when the art of carving in stone had fallen very low.

(See PLATE XIV. *Fig. 11.*)<sup>a</sup>

In regard to the immediate neighbourhood of Castlecary there is not much to be said. Timothy Pont takes notice of what he supposed to be the remains of a Roman outpost, which was situated at a place called Bankier, a short distance to the north-west of the point at which the road to Stirling crosses the Forth and Clyde Canal. Gordon describes the same as a circular *Castellum*, with ramparts 20 feet high, and a ditch 24 feet wide; and he supposes it, without a shadow of probability, to have been one of the forts of Agricola.<sup>b</sup> Horsley takes notice of an exploratory mount, which stood, in his time, at the distance of a furlong to the east of Castlecary station:<sup>c</sup> but the principal object of interest in that vicinity, next to the *Valla* of the fort itself, was the Roman road from Clydesdale; which, diverging from the line to West Kilpatrick, at about a mile to the north of Carluke, passed, it is believed, not far from the Kirk of Shotts; and, after keeping the rising grounds to the eastward of the Red-burn, terminated within the entrenchments of Castlecary.<sup>d</sup> Some few of its traces may still be perceived among the woods in the vicinity of the old baronial tower, which stands upon the banks of the Red-burn, and whose time-shaken walls, in conjunction with the attractive scenery around, entice, we may suppose, many more visitors to this neighbourhood than do any associations connected with historic records of Roman times.

<sup>a</sup> This likewise has a place in the collection of John Buchanan, Esq. Glasgow.

<sup>b</sup> *Itin.* p. 22.

<sup>c</sup> *Brit. Rom.* p. 171.

<sup>d</sup> Some portion of this road is still visible in the Moss of Fannyside.

For some distance to the east of Castlecary, the traces of the great ditch are few and indistinct; but, after passing a point of the line about a mile in advance, where there had been a Watch Tower, which was known in Roy's time by the name of Dick's House, the hollow of the fosse becomes exceedingly distinct, and gains upon the admiration of the visitor at every step, until he reaches the site of the next of the Wall Stations, that of ROUGH CASTLE—situated at the distance of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Castlecary, and rather more than half-way between it and Falkirk. A considerable portion of the ground on this section of the line forms a part of the Bonnymuir. It has never been under cultivation, and is in consequence one of the most interesting divisions we have hitherto had occasion to notice. In many places the ditch is still upwards of 30 feet wide, and from 10 to 12 deep; while, at various points, the traces of the *Agger* or Wall itself can be plainly perceived, running parallel with the ditch, upon its southern side. In approaching Rough Castle, we may proceed for several hundred yards along the hollow of the ancient trench, which leads through a young plantation—its course extending in a lengthened vista before us, and its banks rising to the height of several yards on either hand. The traces of the Military Way are here and there exceedingly distinct—its compact causeway still made use of, in some places, as a moorland road; in others, winding “all unseen” among the tufted heather.

Roy, Gordon, and others, take notice of several *Castella* or watch-towers which existed between Castlecary and Rough Castle. One of these had stood, it was supposed, upon an artificial mound, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from Castlecary; a second at Dick's house; a third at Chapel-hill, a rising-ground to the north of the Wall, still farther east; and a fourth upon Elf-hill, a singular conical height, which rises, crowned with trees, within about half-a-mile of Rough Castle.\* As the distance between Castlecary and this last mentioned fort was much greater than seems to have existed between any other two of the stations *per lineam valli*, Roy supposes an intermediate stronghold to have stood about the position of Dick's house;

\* Roy, p. 161—Gordon's Itin. p. 57. It was between this point and Dick's House that, according to vulgar report, Robert Graham, nephew of Eugenius, king of Scots, broke through the Wall, and had, in consequence, the honour of bestowing his name upon the Roman works (*Credat Judæus!*) from Carriden to the Clyde.

while Gordon, alluding to the appearance of ruins, and to the quantities of lead and iron dug up in the neighbourhood, supposed the Romans to have had a foundry there.<sup>a</sup> Whether or not this was the case, we cannot pretend to say; but it must certainly be acknowledged, by any one who has visited the locality in question, that Roy's conjecture is by no means improbable.<sup>b</sup> For a delineation of the course of the Wall over this interesting portion of the line, we beg to refer the reader to the Fourth Section of our PLAN.

Rough Castle is the last of the Stations upon our route of which any traces can now be distinguished. It stands upon a rising ground, on the banks of a small stream called the Rountree-burn—the mounds formed by the dilapidated ramparts being still perfectly distinct, but so densely overgrown with young trees or brushwood, that it is with considerable difficulty any part of the general plan can be distinguished. It appears to have consisted originally of two compartments; that to the west defended, according to Roy, by a treble line of ramparts;<sup>c</sup> and the other, which may have been a later work, by a single entrenchment only.

The two divisions of this station, taken together, may have occupied a superficial area of about the same extent as was covered by the fort of Castlecary. When Gordon visited it about the year 1725, he saw the remains of the Roman works, in, as he expresses it, “magnificent” perfection, with the traces of ancient masonry existing within the eastern inclosure, and the courses of a free-stone Wall proceeding round the exterior, at a short distance from the ramparts.<sup>d</sup> Some vestiges of what he calls the buildings of the *Prætorium* were still to be seen, when Nimmo wrote his history of Stirlingshire, in 1777;<sup>e</sup> but nothing of the kind can now be distinguished.

Of all who have been induced to publish the result of their observations on the Wall of Antoninus, we happen to be the first who can refer to Rough Castle as the scene of any discovery worthy of particular notice. After

<sup>a</sup> Itin. p. 57.

<sup>b</sup> Gordon refers to what he took to be the remains of a rampart on the outer side of the ditch, between Castlecary and Rough Castle; but this is generally supposed to have been a mere elevation of the northern bank, in consequence of the great quantity of earth which had been there excavated, and a part of which had apparently been thrown on that side of the *foss*. He also mentions that the foundation of the Wall was in this neighbourhood of freestone, and about fourteen feet in breadth—Itin. p. 58.

<sup>c</sup> Milit. Antiq. p. 161.

<sup>d</sup> Itin. p. 59.

<sup>e</sup> P. 10.

finding at every other station some distinct memorial of its Roman occupants, we should have felt sorry, indeed, to take leave of the prominent *Valla* on the Rountree-burn without being able to present the reader with some more certain evidence of their Roman origin than is to be found in the mere existence of those grass-covered mounds. A year or two earlier, however, and we must have passed along, like those who have gone before us, with such a consummation still to be desired; but even while the materials for these sheets were being collected, as occasion offered, "propitious" fortune thought proper to interfere, and to lead the passing ploughshare to the spot where the under-mentioned Altar had lain concealed since before the times, no doubt, of the Saxon progress, or the fiery visitations of the Irish-Scots.

This solitary relic was discovered in the spring of the year 1843, at the distance of from 200 to 300 yards to the south of the station. It is of common freestone—has the top broken off—measures, in its present condition, 27½ inches in height—and bears the following inscription—a dedication to Victory by the Sixth Cohort of the Nervian Auxiliaries, who had been commanded, as far as we can ascertain the name, by A. BELLIO,\* a Centurion in the Twentieth Legion *Valens Victrix*:—

VICTORIAE  
COH VI NER  
VIOEVM C--<sup>b</sup>  
A·BEL--<sup>c</sup> LEG  
XX VV  
V·S·L·L·M

VICTORIAE  
COHORS SEXTA NERVIORUM C--  
A. BEL-O CENTURIO  
LEGIONIS VICESIMAE  
VALENTIS VICTRICIS  
VOTUM SOLVIT LIBENTISSIME MERITO·

(See PLATE XV. Fig. 5.)

The person who found it made a careful search for the missing portion of the stone, but without success. The Sixth Cohort of the *Nervii* we find mentioned also on a stone dedicated to Severus and Caracalla, which was discovered at Brugh in Yorkshire.<sup>d</sup> The same corps is referred to in the

\* We find this name in Gruter, and it seems to be the same as is mentioned in the inscription. The matter is, however, of little importance.

<sup>b</sup> We cannot be certain of the letters which ought to be inserted here, they are so indistinct upon the stone; but they are most probably the initials of the words CUI PRÆEST, "commanded by."

<sup>c</sup> Mr. John Buchanan of Glasgow now numbers this in his interesting collection.

<sup>d</sup> v. Horsley, p. 313.

*Notitia*, as being stationed, somewhere about the year 430, at *Virosidum* (Elenborough, or Old Carlisle.)<sup>a</sup> It seems, therefore, to have been long stationed in this island, and most probably occupied the fort of Rough Castle at a late period in the history of the Roman occupation.

At the distance of 3430 yards, or rather less than two miles from Rough Castle, stands the House of Bantaskin, which is supposed to occupy the site of the next of the Wall Stations—solely, however, on account of its favourable position, as we cannot learn that any remains of ancient fortification have ever been discovered there. Between those two points the track of the ditch is exceedingly well marked; especially towards the west, where it passes along a line of heights which overlooked in ancient times the Roman seaport on the Carron—the presumed *STATIO AD VALLUM* of Richards' Itinerary. About midway to Bantaskin, and just before reaching the Union Canal, we pass the place at which the Roman Road to the North intersected the line of the Wall. When Gordon visited the spot, he found the traces of this causeway still in existence.<sup>b</sup> It has now, however, completely disappeared in this neighbourhood, nor can any of its vestiges be perceived till we advance for some miles on the way to Stirling.

At the House of Bantaskin, a small portion of the *Via*, which ran parallel with the Wall, is in good preservation; but, for some distance upon either side of it, all traces both of wall and ditch have been obliterated. Their course, as will be seen by a reference to the *PLAN*,<sup>c</sup> is supposed to have passed immediately to the south of Falkirk. In this quarter, however, it does not appear to have ever, in modern times, been very distinct;<sup>d</sup> but, as if to make up for the barren character of our progress for the last mile or two, we no sooner leave the precincts of Falkirk, and enter the Parks of Callender, than we have the excavation of the Roman ditch before us in most striking perfection—its hollow extending under the shadow of gigantic and venerable

<sup>a</sup> v. Horaley, p. 478.

<sup>b</sup> Itin. Sept. p. 59. He talks, likewise, of there having been one or two exploratory *Tumuli* or Watch Towers between it and Rough Castle.

<sup>c</sup> SECTION IV.

<sup>d</sup> Horaley supposes that the station which Roy places at Bantaskin may have stood about Falkirk: Brit. p. 172.—We presume it is unnecessary to enter here into the story of the inscribed piece of marble, found, or said to have been found, at Falkirk, some thirty years ago, in which one *Robert Graham* is mentioned as having "thrown down" the Wall of Severus! For farther particulars on the subject, see Nimmo's *Hist. of Stirlingsh.* 1818, p. 641.



trees, which, compared with the age of that grass-covered trench, are but as saplings of yesterday. The fosse is here in several places not less than 30 or 40 feet wide by upwards of 12 feet deep, and evidently owes its preservation to the circumstance of the fields through which it leads having been for a long period inclosed as pleasure ground.

The ordinary admirer of natural beauty will be well satisfied with a visit to this spot; but if, in addition to a love of the picturesque, he has a leaning to antiquarian pursuits, then will he be enraptured with the parks of Callender—the wood, the lake, the “composite” old house and all—were it only for the sake of yonder existing evidence of Roman toil. We meet with the first restored traces of the ditch soon after entering the grounds from the west, and may follow it in one almost unbroken line towards their opposite extremity.<sup>a</sup> In front of the mansion house it is in greatest perfection; but on proceeding a few hundred yards to the eastward it becomes suddenly indistinct, and entirely disappears as we approach the village of Lawrieston,<sup>b</sup> which stands immediately beyond the inclosures of Callender.

This village may properly be said to consist of two streets, one of which extends along the highway to Linlithgow, while the other follows that to Borrowstoness. The latter, which is the most northerly, is believed to stand on the very line of the Roman ditch, and consequently bears, painted in legible characters, the appellation of “Graham’s-Dyke Street.” This is, however, the only evidence of its existence which now remains; as, for the next mile and a half, no vestiges of the ancient entrenchments can be distinguished; but it is almost certain that the present road from Lawrieston to Borrowstoness proceeds, as far as Polmont church, either along the actual site of the Roman Wall, or in very near proximity to it.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Callender House was formerly the seat of the Livingstones, a family celebrated for its attachment to the fortunes of Queen Mary of Scotland. In approaching the termination of our labours, we cannot but return our warmest thanks to the present proprietor for the information with which he has favoured us.

<sup>b</sup> In Roy’s time this village was known by the name of “New Merchiston.” The gallant General supposed it to be identical with a place which Timothy Pont called “Longtown,” and where, according to his account, there had been a Roman Fort—(Roy, p. 162.) Pont’s Longtown was only, however, a mile distant from Falkirk, and his “Fort” may have been merely a *Castellum* or watch-post, as the common opinion is that the next great station was situated about half a mile to the east of Lawrieston.

<sup>c</sup> See our PLAN of the Wall, SECTION V.—and Roy, p. 162.

The next station to the one presumed to have been situated either at Bantaskin or near Falkirk, is supposed to have stood at the Mumerills, about half a mile to the east of Lawrieston, and exactly two miles distant from Falkirk.<sup>a</sup> Here a quantity of pottery was found—of a red colour, similar to that dug up at Duntocher and at Castlecary; and, in the same vicinity, a dedication to the *Dii Manes* of a Roman soldier. This last we have only been able to trace while the present sheet was going through the press. It turns out to be that given in PLATE VI. *Fig. 3.*<sup>b</sup> We learn from Gordon, that at a place called Beancross, not far from the Mumerills, the foundation of the Wall was discovered, in ploughing some of the adjacent fields, to be of stone; and that in his time detached portions of the Military Way and of the ditch were likewise visible in the same neighbourhood.<sup>c</sup>

As there is nothing farther to detain us in this quarter, we may at once proceed towards the church at Polmont,<sup>d</sup> standing almost on the site of the Wall, and at a short distance beyond which the lost traces of the fosse begin to re-appear. But, before continuing our progress, we must detain the reader for a few minutes, in order to take notice of a piece of antiquity, which, being now preserved at Polmont, may be here introduced, although discovered at the distance of about a mile to the south of this spot, and not, like those formerly mentioned, on the direct line of the Wall.

This is an Altar of rather peculiar shape, from the great length of the upper and lower compartments, and the small space allowed to that in the centre. It is of reddish coloured freestone, and bears in well formed letters the following inscription:<sup>e</sup>—

HERCVLI  
MAGVSAN  
\* SACRVM  
VAL · NIGRI  
NVS DVPLI  
ALAE TVN  
GRORVM

HERCVLI  
MAGUSANO  
\* SACRUM  
VALERIUS NIGRINIUS  
DUPLICARIUS  
† ALAE TUNGRORVM

(See PLATE XV. *Fig. 9.*)

<sup>a</sup> Horsley, p. 173—Gordon, p. 60—Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 358.

<sup>b</sup> We are informed that it was Sir Thomas Livingstone, Bart. who presented this stone to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh.

<sup>c</sup> *Itin.* Sept. p. 60.

<sup>d</sup> We allude to the *old* church.

<sup>e</sup> Height 32 inches—it was discovered in 1841, at a place called Brightons.

† An *Ala* was properly a *wing* of horse; but the word was often used in a general sense.

*Sacred to the Magusan Hercules (and erected by) Valerius Nigrinus,  
"Duplicarius" in the Tungrian Cavalry.*

So far was the name of Hercules from being confined by the nations of antiquity to the son of Jupiter and Alcmena alone, that, according to Varro, it was given to no less than forty-four individual deities.<sup>a</sup> Greece, Phenicia, Egypt, each had their Hercules; and, if we rightly understand the foregoing inscription, we have here another, who seems to have been regarded as its tutelary divinity by the Æthiopian town of Magusa.<sup>b</sup> The word *Duplicarius* refers to a class of the Roman soldiery who were allowed either double pay or double allowances as the reward of meritorious service. The Auxiliary *Tungrii* have been already met with in the course of our inquiries: they were Germans from the districts around modern Liege.

After leaving Polmont Church, and passing a small stream which flows through a wooded hollow at a short distance to the eastward, we again meet with what seems to be the excavation of the Roman ditch—ascending the rugged bank to gain the heights above, and making many a sinuous turn among the surrounding trees. Arrived on the summit, it may be faintly perceived proceeding along the crest of the slope, and forming the top furrow of a ploughed field. Soon after leaving this point, however, it becomes much more distinct, and continues to gain on the observation, we may almost say, with every step; until, at the distance of half a mile or so from the little ravine before mentioned, it once more descends to level ground, and is lost on the banks of the Avon Water. On the heights which have been just mentioned, the Roman works had occupied a position but little inferior to the best upon the line; as any one will doubtless admit, who, having followed the course of the Wall from sea to sea, will from this spot survey the country in his front, and at the same time figure to himself the advancing tide to be rolling its muddy waters over the richly cultivated plains in the direction of Grangemouth.<sup>c</sup>

With that wide and regular hollow, as it descends towards the Avon, we leave behind the last traces, it may be said, of the Roman works; for although some slight appearances of the ditch may be observed still farther to the eastward, they are so few and indistinct, that, but for the existing surveys of

<sup>a</sup> Cicero mentions only six—Diodorus, three.

<sup>b</sup> v. *Dictionarium Historicum a Stephano.*

<sup>c</sup> See *ante*, p. 177.

Roy and others, it would be impossible to decide upon its subsequent course. By the sketch of the track, as laid down in the Fifth Section of our PLAN, the reader will observe that, after leaving the above mentioned stream, the Wall proceeds towards the shore of the Forth, and along a series of rising grounds, which form a regular continuation of those it had successively traversed since leaving Falkirk.<sup>a</sup> On the east side of the Avon are a few cottages, which are known by the name of Inveravon, and a short distance to the south of them is the dwelling-house of the Raven farm. It is between these two places, and near the spot where stands the ruined tower of an old baronial fortalice, that the Roman *Vallum* passed. Here likewise is supposed to have been situated the next station to that of the Mumerills.<sup>b</sup> The right bank of the Avon is high and somewhat precipitous; affording an excellent position for a defensive post, as had been discovered by that "Ritter bold" who built his family Keep beside the Roman Wall—the ramparts of the adjoining station most probably supplying him with materials.

From Inveravon, a walk of two miles conducts us to Kinneil—the supposed locality of another fort<sup>c</sup>—and at the distance of about two miles more we reach the height above Carriden Church, where stood, it is believed, the last of the stations *per lineam valli*.<sup>d</sup> Both Gordon and Roy observed traces of the fosse in different places along this part of the route; at present they can scarcely be distinguished anywhere but in a field immediately above the House of Grange, near Borrowstonness, where the entrenchment turned off to the south-east, just before reaching Carriden.

Whatever opinions may be entertained with regard to the actual termination of his Wall, there can be no reason to doubt that the Pro-prætor of Antonine had established one of his *Prætenturæ* in the vicinity of Carriden; as we hear of various relics, discovered in the neighbourhood, whose silent testimony cannot be questioned. Among them were a Roman Altar—the inscription

<sup>a</sup> All of them have a slope to the north, although in many cases, unless the stranger stands on their northern edge, he might suppose himself on level ground.

<sup>b</sup> Roy, p. 162, who thinks that the site of the station may, in the course of ages, have been washed away by the river—Nimmo, p. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Roy, p. 162—Gough's *Camd.* III. p. 358—Horsley, p. 159, who supposes the Wall to have ended here.

<sup>d</sup> Some place the fort on the rising ground between the church and House of Carriden.

illegible;<sup>a</sup> a gold medal of the Emperor Vespasian;<sup>b</sup> and an oblong block of stone, on which was sculptured the figure of an eagle, standing between two ensigns with expanded wings, and holding a *corona* or chaplet of laurel in its bill. On one side of it, according to Gordon, were these letters:—

COH IVLE ASIATEP'S

(See PLATE XV. Fig. 1.)<sup>c</sup>

The first portion of which he read *COHORTS JULIA*, admitting the remainder to be beyond his comprehension. Horsley, however, objects even to the little which his predecessor attempted to explain; and makes it out, with, it must be allowed, the best of the argument, to be a Centurial stone, containing the mere number of the Cohort.<sup>d</sup> The eagle, alighting with the symbol of Victory in its beak, is supposed to be emblematic of the Roman progress—set up on the shores of the Forth to show that the laurels of the Legions had been planted there. A brass sword, some culinary utensils of the same material, and a number of vases of earthenware, have likewise been found at Carriden,<sup>e</sup> many of which are still, we believe, preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

Whether the eastern extremity of the Wall should most properly be fixed at Carriden or at Abercorn, is a question that in all likelihood will never be satisfactorily determined. Looking to the respective situations of those two places, it may strike the observer, that when, to all appearance, the extension of the work as far as Carriden had been sufficient to insure the security of the province, the conducting it along the coast to Abercorn would have been an unnecessary sacrifice of labour, which, without some very sufficient reason, the Roman commander was not likely to have made. As Bede, however, distinctly states that the Northern Wall extended from "Abercurnig" (Abercorn) to the Clyde, we must either suppose that the entrenchment formed by Urbicus had actually been continued to that point; or that, at an after period, when annoyed by the visits of the Picts and Scots by sea, the Romans and provincial Britons had united to carry on the work along the coast; and that it is to their hands we may ascribe its extension to the south-east of

<sup>a</sup> Gord. p. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Sibbald, p. 31.

<sup>c</sup> This stone cannot now be found. We have given a copy of it from Gordon's drawing.

<sup>d</sup> v. Britan. p. 203.

<sup>e</sup> Gord. p. 61—Chalmers, I. p. 167, note.

Carriden. This is of course entirely conjectural; but as Bede takes notice of the Wall with particular reference to its having been repaired and strengthened in the later periods of the Roman occupation, the above seems to us a more feasible mode of accounting for his statement, than by supposing the *Vallum* of Urbicus to have been continued beyond Carriden—the last point at which any traces of his ditch have been perceived, or where any of the usual inscriptions have been found.<sup>a</sup>

It is impossible to decide, as has been attempted, on the actual length of the Roman Wall, from an arithmetical examination of the various inscriptions which present us with the number of paces executed by the several divisions of the forces employed. In the first place, because many may still remain undiscovered; in the second, because, on several of those we have, the numbers are illegible; and, in the third, because, to all appearance, some of them are duplicates of one another.<sup>b</sup> On this account, we need not trouble the reader with a summary of the whole, as we cannot see that it would lead to a satisfactory result, or be the means of throwing any light upon the subject.

Seeing, therefore, any farther speculation unnecessary, we shall be contented to terminate our wanderings at Carriden, taking it for granted that we are standing upon the spot where the Wall of Antoninus ended. Here the Legionary soldier looked forth, not on such confined and cheerless scenes as met his view by the waters of the Kelvin, or beside the dull expanse of Dullatur Bog, but over the broad bosom of the Forth—its blue expanse enlivened, it may be, by the occasional transit of a provincial sail, or the dashing appearance of some Roman galley. And there, where the fine old wood adorns the park of Carriden House, passed the Military Way, which led by Cramond from the various settled districts on the eastern side of the

<sup>a</sup> Near Borrowstonness, Dr. Irvine, about the end of the seventeenth century, saw a number of stones removed from the works of the Wall—*v. Sibb. Hist. Inq. p. 30.*

<sup>b</sup> That such was the case must be apparent from the circumstance, that while, by Roy's careful admeasurement, the length of the Wall to Carriden was rather less than 40 Roman miles—(*Milit. Antiq. p. 155*)—the numbers mentioned upon the stones already found—taking those which cannot be deciphered considerably under the general average—furnish a total exceeding 46,000 paces, or 46 Roman miles. Add to the list what must have been destroyed in earlier ages, and those which, in every probability, are still concealed, and it will appear almost certain that the practice of erecting duplicate inscriptions had been followed by the builders of the Wall.

province—the scene, no doubt, of not unfrequent traffic, and, consequently, a frequent source of interest to the guardians of the Station.

Arrived at the termination of what has proved a long, perhaps a tedious ramble, it may be expected that no delay should occur in bringing these lucubrations to a close: nor shall we much longer tax the reader's patience, although we shall venture to crave a short indulgence, for the purpose, of introducing a few scattered memoranda, which could not properly have been earlier taken notice of, and which, as having a direct connection with our subject, we must not pass over in silence.

We have hitherto, for instance, only taken notice of those inscriptions and sculptures, found along the line of the Wall, whose places of discovery are ascertained. We have still, however, the drawings of a few before us, equal in interest to many of the others, with regard to which nothing farther is known, than that they had been disinterred near some of the Roman forts upon the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde.

The first of these is a stone of the legionary class, measuring  $38\frac{1}{2}$  by 34 inches. It was discovered at least 150 years ago, and was for a long time in the possession of the Keith family, at Dunnotar Castle, near Stonehaven: it subsequently became the property of the University of Aberdeen, whose professors presented it to that of Glasgow in the year 1761. This stone is executed in a similar style with several of those met with at Duntocher and West Kilpatrick. It is enriched with rather a tasteful border, with side ornaments terminating in eagles' heads, and bears, in well formed letters, the following inscription:—

IMP· CAESARI  
T· AELIO HADRI  
ANO ANTONINO  
AVG· PIO· P· P·  
VEXILLATIO  
LEG· XX· VAL· VIC· F  
PER· MIL· PIII

(See PLATE XV. Fig. 8.)

Showing that it had been erected by the Vexillation of the Twentieth Legion *Valens Victrix*, in commemoration of its having executed a distance of three miles in the formation of the Wall.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Gordon takes notice of this Inscription, p. 62.

The next is of the same class, but smaller in size,\* and, within a plain edging, contains these words:—

VE~~X~~ILLATION~~S~~

LEG II AVG E

LEG XX VV F

VE~~X~~ILLATIONES

LEGIONIS SECUNDAE AUGUSTAE ET

LEGIONIS VICESIMAE VALENTIS VICTRICIS

FECERUNT

(See PLATE XV. Fig. 6.)

*The Vexillations of the Second Legion Augusta, and of the Twentieth Legion Valens Victrix, executed this.*

This inscription is also well cut, and is remarkable for several strange looking flourishes which ornament some of the letters.

The last to be mentioned are two pieces of sculpture, the one a mutilated female figure, 23 inches in height, and by no means badly executed—(See PLATE XV. Fig. 3)—the other a nondescript composition, supposed to represent youth and age, which is cut in low relief, upon a much broken tablet, 17 inches square. (See PLATE XV. Fig. 4.)<sup>b</sup>

In addition to these, there is still one inscription which remains to be taken notice of; and, as both Gordon and Horsley supposed it to have belonged to the Wall of Antoninus,<sup>c</sup> we perhaps cannot do better than introduce it here as a tail-piece to the collection—terminating, with its unique and weather-beaten face, the long list of its more perfect compeers. It formed part of a small pillar, which we strongly suspect had been either a common mile-stone, or one of that class set up on the highways to commemorate their formation or improvement.<sup>d</sup> Its shape was circular, and on one side it contained an inscription of four lines, the upper two of which could be plainly deciphered. They were as follows:—

--NINO AVG PIO

P. P. COS III

AntoNINO AVGu~~sto~~ PIO

Patri Patriæ CONSULI TERTIUM

The remainder could not be so satisfactorily made out, but appeared to have alluded to the particular body of troops which had laboured on the work

\* It measures 30 by 24 inches, and is now in the Hunterian Museum. We have some reason to believe that this stone was found in the neighbourhood of Duntocher.

<sup>b</sup> These are both in the Hunterian Museum.

<sup>c</sup> Itin. p. 62—Brit. p. 203.

<sup>d</sup> v. ante, p. 255, note.



it was meant to commemorate.<sup>a</sup> The dedication is evidently to Antoninus Pius, and is peculiarly interesting, as containing a distinct record of its date, that Emperor having been for a third time Consul in the year of the Christian era 140. We have given a representation of this stone in PLATE XV. *Fig. 7.*

Of all the inscriptions referring to its construction which have been discovered along the site of the Northern Wall, there is but one, as formerly observed, which takes notice of any of the Auxiliary forces having been employed upon the work;<sup>b</sup> the others allude to three particular Legions only—the Second *Augusta*, Sixth *Victrix*, and Twentieth *Valens Victrix*;<sup>c</sup> in one or two instances, the entire corps being mentioned, but, in all other cases, their Vexillations only.<sup>d</sup> From their long continuance in this island, and the frequency with which they are referred to upon the inscriptions discovered both in England and Scotland, these corps might have been emphatically termed the British Legions; and, indeed, one of them seems, at an after period, to have actually assumed the surname of *Britannica*.

This was the *Legio Secunda*, which appears to have been quartered here for a much longer period than any of the others. We learn from Tacitus that it arrived in Britain with the Emperor Claudius, (A.D. 44,) and that, during the campaigns which followed, it had often been led to victory by Vespasian, then serving in a subordinate capacity.<sup>e</sup> We next hear of this corps in the reign of Hadrian, when it would appear, from an inscription given by Horsley, to have been stationed on the line of his Wall.<sup>f</sup> When Lollius Urbicus advanced against the Caledonians, it accompanied him to the North; laboured, as we have seen, on the construction of his great defensive barrier; and continued for a long series of years to garrison many of its forts.

<sup>a</sup> This fragment was at one time in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, to which it had been presented by Sir R. Sibbald: it appears to exist no longer. Our copy is taken from Gordon's volume.

<sup>b</sup> This was found, as the reader may remember, at Castlecary, and seems to give the extent of 1000 paces only.—*v. ante*, p. 340.

<sup>c</sup> Some critics have imagined that the proper title of this Legion was *Valeria* or *Valeriana*; but this is set at rest by the inscription in PLATE XV. *Fig. 8.*

<sup>d</sup> As in the Roman armies there were generally many Legions which bore the same number, a certain designation was necessary properly to distinguish them from each other: hence the adoption of such titles as *Augusta*, *Victrix*, &c. <sup>e</sup> Hist. Lib. III. c. xliv.

<sup>f</sup> *s. Northumb. Pl. LXXVII.*

From some other inscriptions discovered within the borders of England, Horsley supposes this Legion to have also had a share in the expedition of Severus, and to have assisted in the erection of his Wall<sup>a</sup>—circumstances by no means improbable, although now incapable of anything like proof. Towards the end of his reign, it seems to have been settled at Caerleon in South Wales,<sup>b</sup> where it must have continued so long as to confer its name upon the place; for, according to Antonine's Itinerary of Britain, supposed to have been compiled in the reign of Caracalla, the ancient Caerleon was known as *ISCA LEGUA AUGUSTA*—an evident corruption, as Horsley remarks,<sup>c</sup> of the words *ISCA LEG. II AUGUSTA*. From the writings of Dion Cassius,<sup>d</sup> we learn that this corps was serving in Britain during the time of Alexander Severus,<sup>e</sup> after which period its history is a blank, until we descend towards the closing scenes of the Roman occupation of England, when we find it mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*<sup>f</sup> as being quartered, some time between the years 425 and 453, at *RUTUPÆ* (Richborough).

The *Legio Sexta Victrix* came over to this island from Germany, in the reign of Hadrian,<sup>g</sup> and appears, from the evidence of several inscriptions, to have been distributed among various stations upon the line of his Wall. At a subsequent period we find it located at York; whither it had probably gone to join the expedition of Urbicus, and to which it had again returned during the reign of Caracalla, as may be understood from the Itinerary of Antonine. This Legion had likewise remained in Britain until towards the conclusion of the Roman occupation—its head-quarters having apparently been long established at York, where, as appears from the *Notitia*, it was stationed in the fifth century.<sup>h</sup>

The history of the Twentieth may be as briefly told. It was one

<sup>a</sup> Brit. p. 78.

<sup>b</sup> See a curious inscription on a votive altar, beginning—the contractions being extended—with

*PRO SALUTE AUGUSTORUM NOSTRORUM SEVERI ET ANTONINI ET GETÆ CAESARIS—*

said to have been found there—Hors. p. 321.

<sup>c</sup> P. 465.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. LV.

<sup>e</sup> He ascended the throne A.D. 222.

<sup>f</sup> *Notitia*, Sec. LII.

<sup>g</sup> v. Hors. p. 473.

<sup>h</sup> As is proved by an inscription mentioned by Gale, in his edit. of Antonine's Itin. p. 47, Tacitus alludes to the Sixth Legion *Victrix* as having been quartered in Germany under Mucianus—Lib. III. c. XLVI.

of those which accompanied Claudius across the English Channel, and had been, we should suppose, withdrawn to the continent at an earlier period than the two others, as the last historical notice we have of it refers to the time of Alexander Severus, when, according to Dion Cassius, it was still serving in Britain;<sup>a</sup> but, from an inscription discovered at Chester in 1653, it appears to have been quartered in that neighbourhood at some period during the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian, which commenced in the year 305.<sup>b</sup> In earlier times this corps was commanded by Agricola, and is thought to have fought in the sanguinary conflict with Boadicea. Its head-quarters are believed to have been long established about West Chester.<sup>c</sup>

We might give a long list of services in which some of these Legions are supposed to have been employed; but as this would lead to much discursive speculation, of no actual interest, it had better perhaps be avoided. With reference to their transactions in this part of the island, nothing whatever is known beyond what may be gleaned from the inscriptions discovered along the Northern Wall, and from the few others, which show that a part of these Legions had been quartered at Eildon and Cramond.

As regards the Auxiliary forces which had kept watch upon the Wall of Antoninus, we have Gauls, Germans, and Spaniards—their cohorts assembled on the frontier of civilisation, to preserve its existence from the rude assaults of a people who were descended from the same parent stock as many of themselves, and with whose language and habits numbers of these Roman allies must have been perfectly familiar. Time and circumstances, however, had so materially altered the condition of the natives of western Europe, that it is probable none of those auxiliary bands had any desire to return to the barbarous life of their ancestors—none were likely to desert the pay of Rome, to lead a precarious state of existence among the skin-clad denizens of the Caledonian hills, even with the feelings of clannish spirit still lingering amongst them, and the prospect of unbounded freedom full in view. Had it been otherwise, the guardianship of our northern *Prætenturæ* must have been a dangerous service on which to employ them; but, from the number of Auxiliaries which appear to have been quartered on the line of the Wall, we may assume that for such a service they were thought equally trustworthy with the Legions themselves: to judge, indeed, by the later inscriptions, few or none of which

<sup>a</sup> Lib. LV.

<sup>b</sup> v. Horsley. p. 314.

<sup>c</sup> *Idem.* p. 84.



CARRIDEN:



$\frac{1}{16}$  10



ROUGH CASTLE



$\frac{1}{16}$  10



CASTLEGARY.



NEAR POLMONT.

Allan & Ferguson



were erected by the soldiery of the Legions, we are inclined to believe that, during the third and fourth centuries, the defence of this frontier had been chiefly intrusted to the care of those mercenary bands.

But to conclude—the objects of the traveller's interest have all receded from view—the last of his wayside resting-places has been left behind—our tale, in short, is told; and nothing remains to be done, but to send forth these pages on their destined course, in the hope that some occasional reader may be found, who, for the sake of the subject, will overlook their imperfections, and be induced to favour them with the light of his countenance—even to  
THE END.

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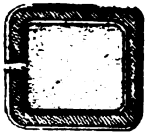






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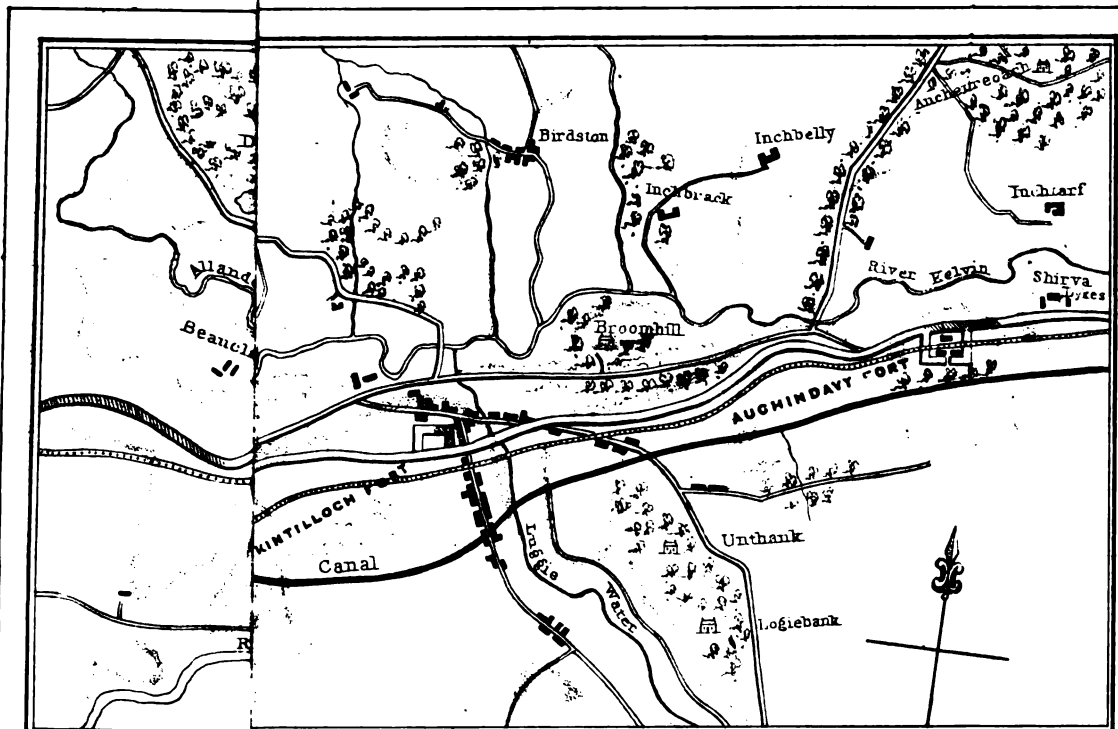
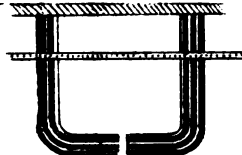
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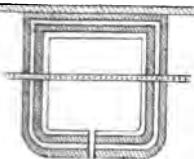
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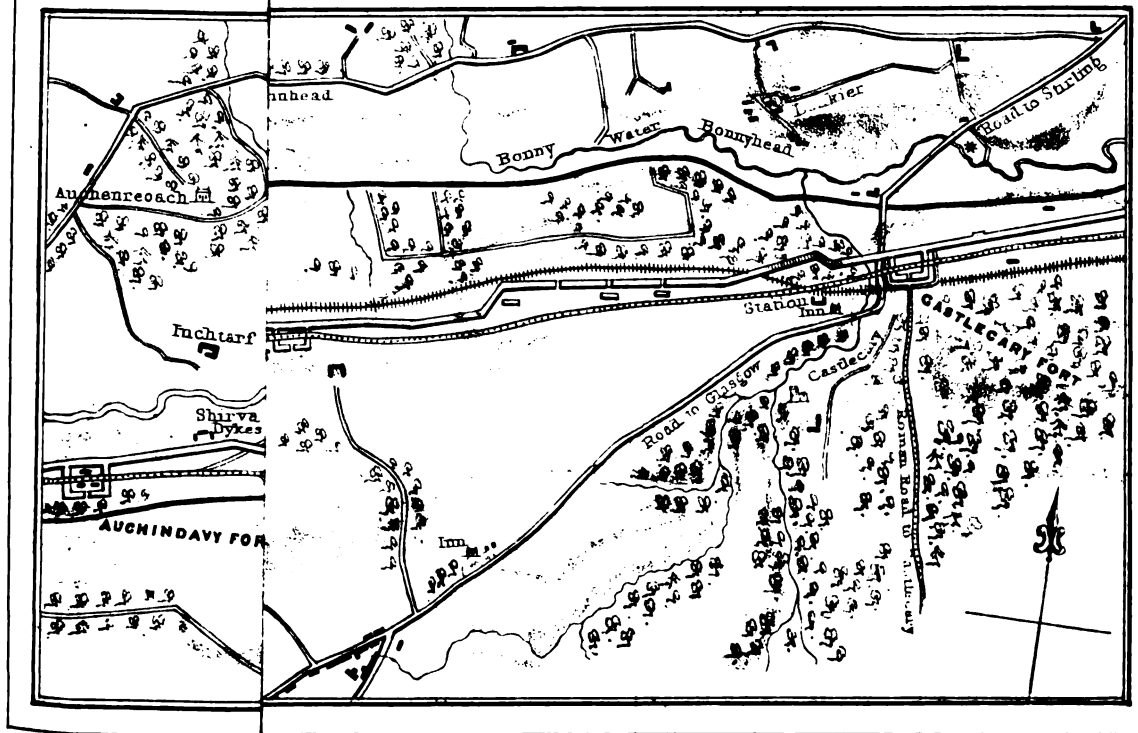
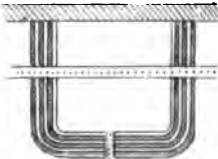


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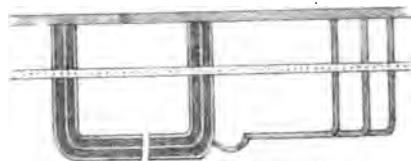
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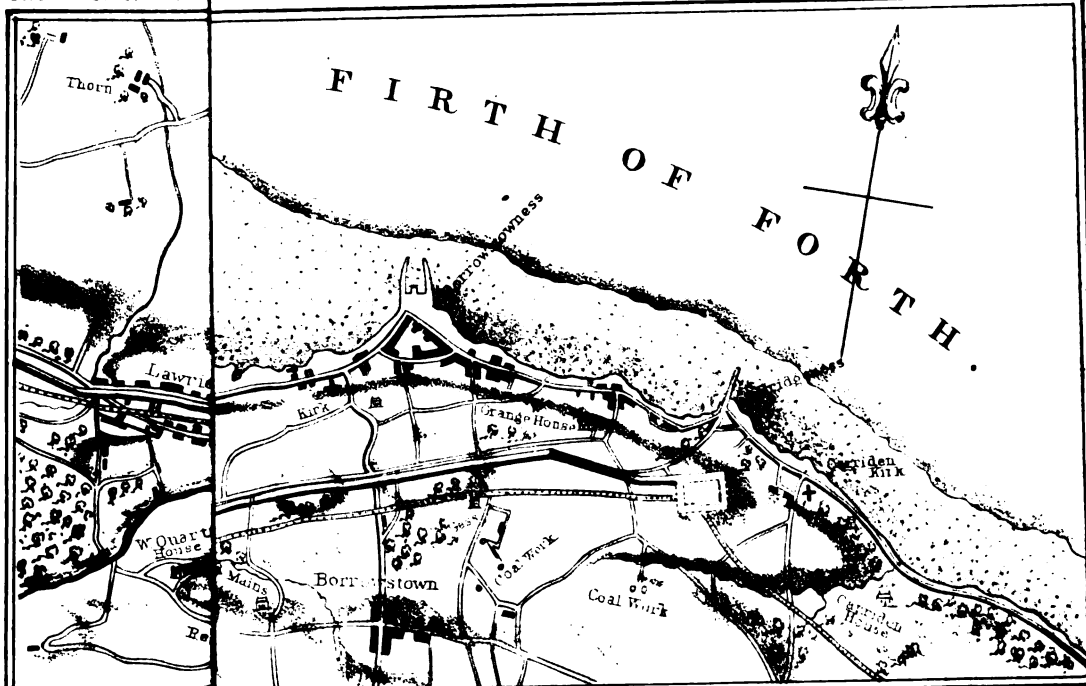
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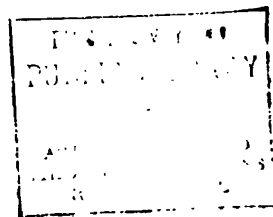


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**ROUGH CASTLE FORT.**





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